

ANIMADVERSIONS

On some PASSAGES of

5092

Mr. Edmund Calamy's ABRIDGMENT

OF

Mr. Richard Baxter's HISTORY

of his LIFE and TIMES;

703. d. 7
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In a DIALOGUE

Betwixt a Church-Man and a Peaceable Dissenter.

In which are shewn,

The Affection of Him, and his Worthies, to the Establishment in Church and State, and the Tendency of their Principles.

A Philalethes Responds to S. Sharp.

By a Lover of his Country, and a Friend to Peace.

Why boastest thou thy self in Mischief, O mighty Man? The Goodness of God endureth continually. Thy Tongue deviseth Mischiefs, like a sharp Razor, working deceitfully: Thou lovest Evil more than Good, and Lying rather than to speak Righteousness: Thou lovest all devouring Words, O thou deceitful Tongue! Psal. 52. ver. 1, 2, 3, 4.

The Sectaries chose out the most able Zealous Ministers to make the Marks of their Reproach and Obloquy, and all because they stood in the way of their Designs, and hindered them in the propagating their Opinions. Abridg. 95.

Out of thy own Mouth will I condemn thee.

L O N D O N :

Printed by E. P. for R. Wilkin at the King's Head in
St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1704.

ANIMADVERSIONS

On some Passages of

Mr. Edmund Calamy's Abridgement

OF

Mr. Richard Baxter's HISTORY

of his Life and Times

IN A DIALOGUE

Between a Church-Man and a Dissenting Minister

In which are shewn

The Affection of Him, and his Worshippers, to the Ministry
in Church and State, and the Tendency of their
Principles.

By a Lover of his Country, and a Friend to Peace.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE. I have been long in the habit of reflecting on the state of the Church and State, and on the conduct of the Ministry, and on the principles of the Dissenters, and on the tendency of their principles. I have been long in the habit of reflecting on the state of the Church and State, and on the conduct of the Ministry, and on the principles of the Dissenters, and on the tendency of their principles.

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L O N D O N :

Printed by E. T. for R. Wallis at the Kings Head in
St. Pauls Church-Yard.

TO the READER.

TWAS in reality Multiplicity of Business, else, these Animadversions had seen the Light much sooner, and, I hope, not too late now: I confess, I was much fatigu'd (never more) in reading over that Abridgment; for, I think, I never met with one of more Dulness and less Wit, in the whole course of my Life; but of Rancour and Venom, there's great plenty, more than enough; the more's the pity.

I do verily believe, that the pure Design of its Publication was to affront the Church Establish'd, and our most Excellent Monarchy. 'Tis a great pity, that it did not meet with its condign Punishment: What will future Ages think of our Remisness, to let such a Piece go without its deserved Censure? It lays all the dismal Effects of the late and long Rebellion, begun by that Black Parliament (nigro Carbone notetur) at the Door of the Church, and King Charles the Martyr, and would make the World believe, that Two thousand Ministers, and more, in the Year 1662, were unjustly ejected. But Mr. Calamy is so unkind to us, as not to let us know, how many of his ejected Ministers thrust out the true Owners, and how many of these were put on Ship-board, how many forc'd to starve, how many imprison'd, and ended their Days in noisom Gaols.

'Twas not to his purpose to handle that Point; but however, the curious Reader may see some part of that Tragedy in that excellent Piece, viz. *Persecutio Undecima*, to which I refer him.

The Way of Dialogue is the most acceptable to the World, for which I chose it; it entices and eggs on the Reader; and fresh Matter affords new Diversion; and the Reader is always in expectation of some Novelty, till he comes to the End of the Dialogue.

I would not have the Reader think, that I have gathered all the fine Flowers of Rhetorick, all the malicious and squinting Expressions, all the virulent Reflections, here and there scatter'd throughout the Book: I will assure him, that I have not touch'd at the twentieth part of them; and were I to make Animadversions on the whole, I should swell the Book to such a Gouty Bulk, as is Mr. Calamy's Abridgment; I only took notice of the most malignant Passages, and, for the Reader's Ease, omitted the rest. When I had finish'd the Animadversions, I read the Tenth Chapter, because Mr. Calamy should not be griev'd with too many Adversaries: Mr. Hoadly, I see, (for I have now read him) is more than his Match, and after his Wrigling and Wrangling, Mr. Calamy will be forc'd (if he has any Remains of Modesty) to surrender up the Palm of Victory.

Good Reader, don't startle (tho' I know the time when Mr. Calamy and his Friends did) at the Name of the Great Sir Roger L'Estrange! (not that I think him a Person without Failings; for the Stars have their Macula's, and the Sun and Moon their Eclipses) and do not accuse the Author of Levity in quoting the Observator; I'll assure thee, 'tis a rare Collection, and there you may meet with the Pictures of the Non-Con-Preachers, the Mayo's, the Bull's, the Farindon's, the Ferguson's, the Baxter's, and many more of Mr. Calamy's Wor-

TO THE READER

chies, drawn to the Life, far better and truer than in Mr. Calamy's Ninth Chapter of the Abridgment.

I am not sensible of any Injury that I have done to Mr. Calamy, or to the Memory of Mr. Baxter; I have laid down plain Matter of Fact, against which he may makea noise; 'twill be Vox & præterea nihil.

I would not have the World believe, that I have any particular Prejudice to Mr. Calamy's Person, (I know not how I should, since he's an absolute Stranger to me) but to that Malice and Rancour, to those bitter Invectives, and black Slanders, black as the Vapours of the Infernal Cell, (to use Mr. Calamy's Plutonick Expression) I am, and ever shall be; and Mr. Calamy can't in justice be angry with me, when I am in Conscience convinc'd that I tell him the truth.

In the Publick Prints, I met with an Advertisement of the Second Edition of the Abridgment, which follows in these words, Whereas a Second Impression of the Abridgment of the Life of the Reverend Mr. Baxter, and the Historical Continuation, with Additions and Amendments, is shortly intended in Two Volumes; it is desired, that such as have observed any Mistakes in the Ninth Chapter of the Abridgment, or are able to give a well-attested Account of any other Ministers, who were ejected after 1660, who are either omitted, or whose Names only are mentioned in the said Ninth Chapter, would, withal expedition, transmit their Exceptions or Characters, to Thomas Parkhurst, J. Robinson, or J. Lawrence, Booksellers, in order to the compleating the said Second Impression.

Would to God Mr. Calamy would let out all the ill Humours, the Rancour and Malice, and bitter Invectives, out of all the other Chapters, (as in justice he ought, if he would set up for a just and candid Historian and Biographer); there's no doubt to be made, but that the Book wou'd lose much of its Bulk, and he need not put the Emptor to the charge of Two Volumes.

May the good God put it in Mr. Calamy's Heart to promote the Blessed Means of a firm and lasting Union, which wou'd be a real Joy to the Nation; and not (instead of pouring Oil to heal the Wounds of a bleeding Church) to widen and make the Breach greater: May he be a Repairer of the Breaches of our Sion, and may he put his Hand heartily, and with all his might, to build up the Walls of our Jerusalem.

The Church of Rome (that irreconcilable Enemy to our Church, whom she knows to be the Bulwark of the Reformation) laugh'd at our unseasonable Divisions; Divide & Impera is her Maxim, and she in time is in hopes to enter the Breach, and to reap the direful Effects of it.

The Dissenters must know, that in breaking the Mounds of the Church, they are only Factors to that proud Lady on the seven Hills. To prevent which, I am in Conscience convinc'd, that nothing else can do, but a hearty Conjunction with the Establish'd Church: These things, Sir, if you earnestly consider, you will, by God's Grace, return to a better mind; for the obtaining thereof, I shall not cease to make my humble Petitions unto Almighty God, our Heavenly Father.

Thy Soul's Well-wisher, Philaetes.

Animadversions on some Passages of Mr. Calamy's Abridgment, of Mr. Richard Baxter's History of his Life and Times, &c.

THE Occasion of this Conference was, *viz.* Or-
thodoxus a Church-man, thro' over much Study,
 and Intenseness of Thought, had contracted an ill
 Habit of Body, and was ordered by his Physicians,
 to a change of Air, and to retire to *Hampstead* for the bene-
 fit of the Purging Waters. His usual custom (after the
 taking of them) was to take a turn or two over the Heath;
 where his Eyes were entertain'd and ravish'd with a most
 delightful and charming Prospect; on every side he had
 represented to his sight, Objects of different Kinds; some-
 times he cast a Glance upon the *Metropolis* of the Nation,
 where he distinctly view'd that noble Pile of Building,
St. Paul's Cathedral; a Cathedral that is the Ornament of
 the City, the Glory of the Nation, and the Mirrour of the
 World; and then the many Churches with their exalted
 Spires, which added no little Splendour to that City; and
 the curious *Meanders* of the Silver *Thamisis*, as far as his
Ken could reach, was very Ravishing; the Delightful Dales
 and Pleasant Hills did regale his Fancy, and turning himself
 to the Point, from whence warm *Zephyrus* emits his gentle
 blasts; he was gratified with the sight of her Majesties Pa-
 lace-Royal at *Windsor*, with the Counties adjacent to it:
 In short, he seem'd wonderfully pleas'd with the noble Pro-
 spect, and envied not *Montpelier* it self: It was his hap, as
 he was walking with a Book in his Hand (as his custom
 was)

was) to meet *Philo-schismaticus* with a Dissenting Friend, who having been Educated in *Holland*, had (unfortunately) imbibed several ill Notions and Errors against that Established Church; however, his Prejudices did not sour the sweetness of his Natural Temper, which was affable and kind; His Friend thus Accosts him.

Phil. Happily met, my Dear Friend, you are always adding to your stores of Learning and Knowledge; I pray, what's that Book in that Hand.

Orth. Why Sir, 'Tis the Faith and Practice of a Church of *England* Man, and if I could persuade you to use it, It should be at your Service, and begs your acceptance; did you but read it without Prejudice, and ruminate upon it, It would go a great way towards setting you right, and contribute very much towards making a Profelyte of you.

Phil. I thank you kindly for your Present; I'll assure you, I'll give it a diligent reading, and promise you to lay by my Prejudices in the perusing of it.

Orth. I always knew you to be a Man of Temper, but oftentimes bewailed your unhappy Education; pardon me, for calling it so; for had you been so fortunate, as to have suck'd at my Mothers Breasts, you would have been an useful Member of, and given Reputation to both Church and State.

Phil. No Compliments, I beseech you; my Natural Endowments I humbly own to be the Blessing and Gift of God, and the Means and Opportunities of improving these, such as Conversation and Books, are likewise owing to him: And now I talk of Books, here's one I would recommend unto you; 'tis the Life of that Eminently Pious and Laborious, Faithful Minister of Jesus Christ, Mr. *Richard Baxter*, abridg'd by Mr. *Calamy Edmundi filius & nepos*; have you read it?

* *Orth.* Read it, say you; Ay Sir. But what's the Whim of Mr. *Calamy* in thus subscribing himself; the currant Style of your Party of *Tore*, was Minister of the Gospel, unwor-
thy

thy Servant of Jesus Christ, Pastor of the Flock, &c. Is Mr. Calamy ashamed of those Old Fashion'd Titles? Methinks he is, else sure he would not differ from his Brethren of the Separation. I pray, can you guess at the Reason of it, Sir.

Phil. I can't; except it was, that he bears that Christian Name of Father and Grandfather.

Orth. You have hit the Nail on the Head; but methinks, it shews too much levity in one that pretends to be a Presbyterian Minister.

Phil. I am of the same Thoughts with you. Our Ministers formerly, and some at present, are so mortified to the World, such Practicers of Self-denial, that they will not, nay dare not assume the vain, empty, and frothy Titles of the World; and 'tis a wonder to me, that Mr. Calamy should alter the currant Stile of Antiquity; I am resolv'd when I see him next, to ask him the Reason on't. But what are your Thoughts of the Abridgment, &c. methinks, 'tis an excellent piece, and ought to have a Place in the Studies of all (especially Learned) Men; 'tis a well digested Work, and the most perfect Description of a Primitive Christian.

Orth. There's a mighty Difference betwixt your Thoughts and mine. By no means can I consent with your Notion, for really I take it (as it is) for a crude, dull, insipid (tho' sly and cunning) History, and I was e'en fatigu'd by that time I got to the end on't: But I don't repent my Pains in giving it a Reading, and I am much mistaken, if I do not at the long run prove it an Infamous, Venemous, Falsifying piece of History, Publish'd with the greatest Effrontery against the Church and State, designed by Mr. Calamy to bring an universal Odium upon both; and if you will not be offended with my familiar Freedom, I'll give you my second Thoughts of it; and in my Opinion, it deserves (and it ought to have its Deserts) to be condemn'd by Publick Authority, and to undergo the Fiery Tryal, for nothing but Fire can thoroughly purge it, 'tis so full of Dross and Impurity.

Phil.

Phil. The very Thoughts of Fire has put you into a heat; but why so hot, my Friend; I always took you for a Man of Sobriety, and one that had a perfect command of your Temper; Heat and Passion seldom or never gain an Adversary; you must not be hot, if you expect to make me your Convert.

Orth. In the main you are in the right; but when Religion in general suffers, when the most Apostolical, Primitive and Pure Church of *England*, and when the most excellent State-Government in the whole World, are struck at in this Vile Book; I hope, it will be allowable to use a little Vehemency; and *St. Paul Gal. 4. 18.* says, 'tis good to be Zealously affected always in a good Thing; and the welfare of the Church and State, is the *ἡ μάχη* in the Text. But since I have offended you, I shall for the future, confine myself within bounds, and keep my Temper; and to oblige you, I'll submit to the Penance of raking into this heap of Rubbish once more, and freely give my Opinion of all such Passages in it, as we happen to stumble upon.

*Prov. 20.
27. Patr.
in loco.*

Phil. It becomes Man (that styles himself Lord of the Creation, that is proud of the Rational Faculty, which is engrafted into the Soul) to stand at the Helm, and to steer by the Pole-star of Reason, and to banish those Fumes of Passion, that (if I may so say) suffocate the Soul. Right Reason is like a Light set up to guide the Animal Part of Man, through all the Vicissitudes of the World, and 'tis that which *Solomon* calls *The Candle of the Lord*, or *Lamp* as 'tis in the Margine, searching all the inward parts of the Belly: The Bishop of *Ely* on the place thus Paraphrases, *viz.* That active Spirit, which the Lord had Breathed into Man, is like a Torch lighted at the Divine Understanding, to guide and direct him in all his Motions, and to make Reflections upon them afterwards; nay, to penetrate also into the most secret Designs of other men, that he may not be deceived by them.

Orth. Turn'd Preacher, *Phil.* No more at present, as you love me, lest we should run from our present Design, which was to animadvert upon Mr. *Calamy's Abridgment*, &c. *Phil.*

Phil. In the Preface Mr. Calamy lets fly at one *Anthony à Wood* Pref. to the
Wood: His Words are these; "Some angry Persons have Abridg.
 "taken much pleasure in bespattering these worthy Men,
 "whose Names rather deserve embalming: but none hath
 "more signaliz'd his Rancour and Bitterness (keep your
 "Temper, Mr. Calamy) in ill-natur'd particular Reflections,
 "than Mr. *Anthony à Wood*, the *Oxford* Historiographer, who
 "hath been taken to task by several for his Failures; while
 "no one, that I know of, hath been so charitable, as to
 "wipe off the foul Aspersions he hath cast on those of our
 "Denomination, who deserv'd much better Treatment.

Orth. In good truth Mr. Calamy is even with Mr. *Wood*
 for Rancour and Ill-nature, or else I am mistaken. Here's
 a Present of some of his kind Expressions to him. In the
 next Page Malignant Insinuations. — That word Ma-
 lignant was once the Ruin of a glorious Church and Nati-
 on. Envious Mr. *Wood*! "*Wood* that leaves a Blot upon Abr.p. 193.
 "the Names of most good Men. — Be sure he means 207.
 those of Mr. *Calvin's* Platform. "And they that will take 208.
 "the pains to read *Anthony à Wood*, what he writes in Com-
 "mendation of many a bloody and traiterous Papist, will
 "say according to the homely Proverb, that he knew how
 "to give the Devil his due. — Oh rare Mr. Calamy! —
 Are there no Traitors but the bloody Papists? What do you
 think from 1641 to 1660? What do you think of the *Rye-*
House Conspiracy? Good Mr. Calamy, Do but read the 2d
 Volume of Mr. *Wood*, and I believe you'll find that he has
 given the Devil his due. And pray, Why may not a man
 take pains to read Mr. *Wood's* History as well as your dull
 Abridgment? But this is by the bye. *Acheronta movebit*,
 to fetch a flight of Rhetorick. "Reflections that are as 212.
 "black as the Vapours of the Infernal Cell, where they
 "were forg'd. Did you e'er take a Trip with *Telemachus*
 or *Theseus* to those Regions to know the Blackness of those
 Vapours? Good Mr. Calamy, name those black Reflections
 in the next Edition, or else I must think you a Slanderer.
 Is it a Reflection that Dr. *Owen* took Orders in our Church,
 afterward

Wood, 2
Vol. 565,
566, 567.

afterward turn'd Presbyterian, and changing his Mind, endeavour'd to ruin the Presbyterians: ——— They are the Words of Mr. Wood. Is it a Reflection, that he applauded the Regicides, and declared the Death of the most admirable King to be Just and Righteous? Is it a Reflection, that when he was Vice-Chancellor of Oxford he went in quern (Mr. Calamy's Garb) like a young Scholar, with powder'd Hair, Snake-bone Band strings, Lawn Band, a large Set of Ribbands pointed at the Knees, and Spanish-Leather Boots with large Lawn Tops, and his Hat mostly cock'd? Is it a Reflection, that in his Vice-Chancellorship he was so great an Enemy to the Lord's Prayer, that when some Preachers (I don't mean Presbyterian or Congregational) concluded with it, he would with great sneering and scorn turn aside, sit down, and put on his Hat: which Act of his (suggested, no doubt, by some infernal Spirit) did highly offend the Royal Party, and gave occasion (says Mr. Wood) to Dr. Casaubon to write and publish a Vindication of the Lord's Prayer? Is it a Reflection, that he renoun'd his Orders, deny'd his Doctor's Degree, and pleaded that he was a mere Lay-man, stood for Burgesses of the University, and sat some time in the Parliament House? But enough at present of Dr. Owen.

Phil. I hope you have done with this melancholy Point; Mr. Calamy seems to have forgot that memorable Saying,

Plautus.

Qui alterum incusat probri, ipsum se intueri oportet.

Orth. Have a little Patience; I'll press it a little further, to shew to the World what Spirit Mr. Calamy is of; Reviler.

Abrid. 122.

"His Name (meaning Owen) will be precious, when the
"Memory of the Wicked shall rot. ——— Now I am apt to
think, that Mr. Wood's Memory may continue as long, and
smell as sweet, as Owen's, Baxter's, or Calamy's. But let us
hear him flurt on at Mr. Wood; "We judge from hence of
"the Credit of Mr. Wood's Intelligence. ——— Why! what's the
matter? It seems Mr. Calamy has made it appear, that

Mr.

Mr. *Stretton* never travelled, as Mr. *Wood* suggests. A weighty matter indeed, to lay such stress upon't, as to shake a man's whole Reputation: Allowing it to be a mistake, there's no maliciousness in it; and whether *Wood's* or *Calamy's* Account be true, *Stretton* is neither the better nor worse man. Mr. *Calamy*, of all men, ought to pass it by; for 'tis not to be doubted, but that there are many and more weighty Faults, Omissions, &c. which will be more than enough to destroy the Credit of his *Abridgment*. *Calamy* shews his Teeth again, and says, — "There's no occasion²⁹⁴ for wonder, that such a man (as Mr. *Corbet*) should fall under the Censure of Mr. *Wood*. Alas, poor Mr. *Wood*! that you should have the misfortune to have so many hard words from the candid Mr. *Calamy*, that bestows so many kind ones on Men that were the Trumpets of Rebellion, and help'd so much to embroil the Nation! A mighty Discommendation sure it is to you, for such a man as this to say, your Commendation had been a Disgrace to Mr. *Corbet*. Mr. *Wood's* Censure of him is, That he preach'd seditiously, vilified the King and his Party in a base manner, and would several times say in common Discourse, and in the Pulpit sometimes, That nothing had so much deceived the World, as the Name of a King, which was the Ground of all the mischief to the Church of Christ. 'Twas ill done, Mr. *Calamy*, of Mr. *Wood*, to make an ill man of a Person so zealous against the King, and so thirsty after Reformation, though by Blood: he dislikes him for acting unchristianly; but what you all along say, *The less Christian, the greater Saint*.

Athen.

2 Vol. 503,

504.

Phil. But, good Sir, did you ever hear, that Mr. *Wood* was a person mighty to drink, till Wine enflames him, as the Prophet has it.

Isa. 5. 11.

Orth. Pray, Sir, favour me with the Reason of the Question.

Phil. I Will, — When I read over Mr. *Calamy's* *Abridgment*, I met with something that look'd that way, as p. 312.

"*Wood* (without the Title of Mr. according to the mo-

Abr. 312.

“ rose Education of some men) the *Oxonian*, fancied him-
 “ self among his boon Companions, passing the tedious Mi-
 “ nutes of the lingring Glass in its circular Returns, with a
 “ wanton Tale, when he compos’d that Farce to which this
 “ good man’s Name (meaning Mr. *Joseph Allein*) is pre-
 “ fix’d in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*. But ’tis no Disgrace at all
 “ to any one to be ridicul’d in such a way, as makes the
 “ Author infamous in the Estimation of all such as have
 “ any Relicks either of Honour and Honesty.

Orth. This is an Accusation (to use Mr. *Calamy*’s darling
 Metaphor) as black as the Vapours of the Infernal Cell ;
 there’s not the least ground for such an infamous Calumny ;
 and he that has any Relicks of Honour and Honesty, can
 ne’er believe it : ’Tis as rank a Lie as ever came from the
 Father of Lies, old *Beelzebub*. In Answer to the Lord of
Sarum, you may meet with a Defence of Mr. *Wood*, which
 I must beg leave of that Learned and Reverend Author to
 transcribe, to vindicate Mr. *Wood*’s Memory. “ The Au-
 “ thor (says the Vindicator) is so far from frequenting
 “ Company, that he is, as it were, dead to the World, and
 “ utterly unknown in person to the generality of Scholars
 “ in *Oxon*. He is likewise so great an Admirer of a solitary
 “ and retired Life, that he frequents no Assemblies of the
 “ University, hath no Companion in Bed or at Board, in
 “ his Studies, Walks, or Journeys, nor holds Communica-
 “ tion with any, unless with some, and those very few, of
 “ generous and noble Spirits, that have been in some mea-
 “ sure Promoters and Encouragers of this Work. And in-
 “ deed, all things consider’d, he’s but a degree from an
 “ *Ascetick*, as spending all or most of his time, whether by
 “ day or night, in reading, writing, or divine Contempla-
 “ tion : however, he presumes that the less his Company
 “ and Acquaintance is, the more impartial his Endeavours
 “ will appear to the Ingenious and Learned, to whose Judg-
 “ ment only he submits them and himself. Come, Mr. *Ca-*
lamy, there’s no doubt but that you, or some of your Club,
 have seen this Vindication (which was Printed in 1693,)
 but,

but, *There is none so blind, we say, as those that won't see.* I wou'd advise you, for the future, to be tender of Reputation, and not to pick up groundless and infamous Reports, lest they fall on your own Head. Old Cato wou'd have taught you better; (but it may be, it has too much Morality, to be a *Leyden School-book.*)

*Rumores fuge, ne incipias, novus author haberi,
Nam nulli tacuisse nocet, nocet esse locutum.*

Cato Dis. 1.
lib. 12.

Little said, soon amended.

Phil. But, my Friend, what's that Farce, which Mr. Calamy says Mr. Wood compos'd for that precious extempore-praying Young-man, Mr. Joseph Allein? I'm big to know it?

Orth. You'll find it in the second Volume: 'Tis only to shew the mighty Prevalence in a comfortable Importance.

"Soon after (says the Historian) our Author Joseph received another Call, to take to Wife a fair and holy Sister: *Ath. Ox.*

"which being effected, he would (as in jest) complain *2 Vol. 300.*

"to his intimate Friend of C. C. C. of the Inconveniency of

"Marriage; viz. That whereas he used to rise at Four of

"the Clock in the Morning, or before, his loving Spouse

"wou'd keep him in Bed till about Six: also, whereas he

"used to study 14 hours in a day, she wou'd bring him to

"eight or nine. And where's the harm of this, that Mr. Ca-

lamy should make such an Outcry? I protest, I pity the

Man.

Phil. Was that all? Goodly, goodly. There's no doubt,

but Mrs. Allein was in the right; she, poor Woman would

not suffer her Husband to macerate, and to wear out him-

self with too much Study. And what's more comfortable,

than a warm bedfellow in a Cold Frosty Morning; 'tis

Mr. Calamy's case; and many a time has he acted the Farce,

and where's the harm on't.

Orth. Nay, I can't tell; I see none. Had it not been

for Mr. Calamy's Imprudence, this Story had been buried

in

in Oblivion; if it exposes any, he may thank himself, and there's an end on't.

Phil. Han't you done yet with this *Oxford Historiographer*.

Ab. i. 312. *Orth.* Mr. *Calamy's* Pen is not yet dry, for he accuses Mr. *Wood* of Lying; his Words are these, "*Wood* says, "that *Strickland* prayed several times Blasphemously; he "might as well say, he used to come into his Pulpit naked, "and without a Rag of Cloaths on; for the one is not "more Ridiculous to those that knew the Man, than the "other.

Ath. Ox. 2 vol. 343. *Orth.* I have reason to believe, 'tis true, for I have turned to Mr. *Wood*, and these are his Words; "This Person " (meaning Mr. *John Strickland*) who was always puritanically affected, sided with the Rebellious Party, in the "beginning of the Civil War; took the Covenant, Preached frequently before the Long Parliament, excited the "Members thereof to proceed in their Blessed Cause, prayed several times Blasphemously; for which he quotes Sir *Williams Dugdale's Short View*, Printed at Oxford 1681. and make the most on't. Sir *William* will stand buff, I'll assure you. To talk Blasphemy among some sort of Dissenters is not so strange; I pray consult Sr. *Roger Lastrange's*

Diff. Sayings, 2 part 6. 2. of Toler. *Diffenters Saying*, and there is too too much. Where is your God (says one *Boggis*) in Heaven or in Earth, aloft or below, where doth he sit. O Lord (says *Strickland*, whom *Edw. Gan. 163. 2 part. Strickland at South-hamp. June 1643. Robinson at Southamp.* Mr. *Calamy* defends) thine Honour is now at Stake; for now, O Lord, Antichrist hath drawn his Sword against thy Christ, and if our Enemies prevail, thou wilt lose thine Honour. O God, O God, many are the Hands lift up against us; but there is one God, it is thou thy self, O Father, who doest us more mischief than them all. O Lord, when wilt thou take a Chair, and sit amongst the House of Peers? When, O God, when (I say) wilt thou Vote amongst the Honourable Commons; thine own Commons who are so Zealous for thine Honour. I say, this is God's Cause; and if God hath any Cause, this is it; and if this be

not

not God's Cause, then God is no God for me; but the Devil is got into Heaven; from such Praying and Preaching, Good Lord deliver us. Another of the same Leaven of Hypocrisie, upon the Holy Sacrament has these Words; *As I am a faithful Sinner, Neighbours, This is my Mornings Draught; Here's to you all.* Isaac Massey at Uppingham in Rutland, giving the Communion on Easter Day 1644, drinking up the whole Cup. I would have Mr. Calamy consult the Forty Third Chapter of Sir William Dugdale's *View of the Troubles of England*. My very Soul trembles at the Horrour of these Men, and I cannot proceed further on the Blasphemous Thoughts and Expressions, used in those days of Rebellion.

Phil. Then I hope you have done with the Vindication of Mr. Wood.

Orth. Not quite ——— one Stroke more, and wee'll proceed to some fresh Matter; for to tell you the truth, I am e'en sick of Tracing Mr. Calamy, "Mr. Wood (says our *Abride*
"Abridger) summons in all the Ill Nature he was Master 333.
"of, (in which few could vie with him) to help him in
"passing a Censure on the Wit of Mr. Alsop. What Wit
Mr. Alsop had in his younger Days, I know not; but I
am sure, 'twas much Sour'd and Ill Natur'd, as Mr. Calamy
calls it, in his declining Years, of which Dr. Stillingfleet *Preface to*
complains. "The Fourth (says that great Man) comes *the unrea-*
"forth with more than ordinary Briskness, and seems to set *sonableness*
"up, rather for a sort of Wit, than a Grave Divine: His *of the Separ.*
"Book resembles the *Bird of Athens*, for it seems to be 62.
"made of Face and Feathers; for setting aside his old Say-
"ings, his impertinent Triflings, his hunting up and down
"for any occasion of venting his little Stories and Simili-
"tudes; there is very little of Substance left in him, but
"what he had borrowed from Dr. Owen, or Mr. Baxter; me-
"thinks such a light, vain and scurrilous way of Writing,
"doth not become such a tenderness of Conscience, as our
"Dissenters pretend to. Thus he,

Phil.

Pref. to the
Abridg.

Phil. "The first Specimen of this Author's Abilities, was his *Antiquitates Universitatis Oxon*, in which (says Mr. Calamy, and quotes Bishop Barlow's Remains) there's not only false *Latin*, but false *English*, &c.

Orth. I confess, I never was a great Admirer of Posthumous Works; but however, we'll see what the Learned of Oxford thought and said of that Book. The Vindicator of the Oxford Historiographer, has stiffly defended both Books against my Lord of S——m, and there is no doubt on't; but that Mr. Calamy has had the perusal of it; tho' according to the general way of our Adversaries, takes no manner of notice of it: 'Twas too hot for his Fingers, and touch'd his Cause in the most sensible Part; and for the sake of Truth, I shall presume to borrow some Notes from it for the use of Posterity. "The Chief Heads of the University, "were at the Cost and Charge of a Translation of it into "*Latin*, and I believe, they were as true Judges of it, as "my Lord of *Lincoln*, if the *Remains* (which I much doubt) "be his. My Lord of S——m calls him a Scribler and Poor Writer; though the Heads thought otherwise. *Nicolas Lloyd* Four Years before its Publication, calls it, *Aureolus plurimo labore nec minori judicio consignatus*, &c. When it was finish'd, the Learned Curators of the *Sheldonian* Press, viz. Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, Sir *Joseph Williamson*, Bishop *Fell*, &c. Dedicated it to his Sacred Majesty King *Charles* the Second: It was sure a vast Affront, to present false *English* and false *Latin* to so great a Monarch, and afterwards to the chiefest Potentates and Scholars of *Europe*; and this is enough to take off the Slander, imputed to the Bishop of *Lincoln*.

Pref. to the
Abridg.

Phil. You have made a hard shift to get rid of Bishop Barlow's Remains: wou'd you would try your Skill upon a Quotation of Mr. Calamy's out of my Lord of S——m's Letter. "That poor Writer (meaning *Wood*) has thrown "together such a tumultuary mixture of Stuff and Tattle, "and has been so visibly a Tool of the Church of *Rome*, to "reproach all the greatest Men of the Church, ('tis well "for

for some body, that he had not his Education in that famous University) that no man who takes care of his own Reputation will take any thing upon trust, that is said by one that has no Reputation to lose. He has laid together, all the Malice of Missionaries (surely 'tis not worse than that of Schismatics) could furnish him with to blamish the Work of one of the greatest Men of our Church, Bishop Jewel.

Orth. I wonder at the Presumption (I'm loth to call it Impudence) of Mr. Calamy, to trump up a Remark of my Lord of S—m, which, I believe, he knows has been already answer'd. I see some men have got a Secret against Blushing: And to do Justice to the Memory of Mr. Wood, I shall beg leave of the Vindicator to make use of him, and to borrow somewhat of him; and one reason is, viz. the Scarcity of that Answer, which I believe is out of Print: And 'tis the way of our Adversaries, both Papist and Dissenter, to jog on in the old Road of Accusing and Slandering, and never to take notice of any Answer; which is unfair in all, but such as think God sees no fault in his Children: such, with the Jesuit, may *fortiter calumniari, ut aliquid adhaereat*. Lying and Slandering, as honest Sir R. L. long since observ'd, are some Folks Talent: and to evince that this Talent has been committed (not from above) to this Gentleman, and that he has finely improv'd it, read what Anthony a Wood says of this eminent Prelate; "John Jewel was one of the greatest Lights that the Reformed Church of England hath produced: That Queen Elizabeth, for his great Learning and Sufferings, rewarded him with the Bishoprick of Salisbury. And the Learned Camden, talking of Salisbury, has these words, *Sed vabil est, quo perinde gloriatur, ac Joanni Juellio Episcopo, Theologiae cognitione ad miraculum instructissimo, & purioris Religionis propugnatore acerrimo*: The great Camden saith, That he was a wonderful, great, and deep Divine, a most stout and earnest Maintainer of our Reformed Religion against the Adversaries by his learned Books: And in his *Annals*, he calls him, a

Ath. Oxon.
1 Vol. 132.

Brit. 141.
Edit. Lond.
1587.

Ann. Eliz.
man 1571.

Abr. 6.

Works of
the Lear-
ned, Aug.
1691. p. 45.

man of singular Ingenuity, of exquisite Erudition and Theologicals, and of great Piety. And for the rest, *Parsons* the Jesuit (one of whose Books converted *Mr. Baxter*) must answer.

Mr. Le Croß, in the Works of the Learned, entertains very honourable Thoughts of *Mr. Wood*; His Book will be (says he) of great use, &c. He seems to write impartially, and to relate whatever he knows, whether good or bad, of those whose Lives he writes: The Roman Catholics are not worse used by him than the Protestants of the Church of *England*; and if he seems to have less spared any Party, it must needs be Dissenters: But what will offend the most, the Dissenters, and all those that are for limiting the Authority of Kings, and imagine that the People, or the States their Representatives, have a Right to Depose them in some cases, is the pains *Mr. Wood* takes to prove, that their Arguments are most of them taken out of a Book publish'd by *Parsons* the Jesuit 1593, under the Name of *Doleman*; and that notwithstanding the Statute of the 35th of *Elizabeth*, which declares them guilty of High Treason that should have that Book by them, yet the Non-conformists have not only kept it, but have several times caused it to be Reprinted under new Titles, as in the Year 1647, and 1680 or 1681. And now I see no reason, but that the Testimony of a *French* Protestant should be equivalent to one of *Scotland*.

Phil. But can you guess at the reason, Sir, why the Dissenters in general are so angry with *Athenæ Oxon.* especially the Second Part?

Orth. The only reason that I know of, is, because in it (to borrow a little from the *Vindicator*) "you will find a great deal of the Mystery of Iniquity, acted in that dismal Rebellion, which was commenc'd by the Puritans, and other factious People, in the Year 1642, open and display'd. It shews how those Brethren (continues the Author) were common Preachers of Rebellion and Treason, and how their Pulpits were esteem'd by observing men the

“the Chair of Jugglers; that Blasphemies, Profanations, Absurdities, &c. were by them vented every day in their extemporary Prayers and Sermons, to the great blinding and misleading of the People. It shews you the Intrigues, of many of the leading men on the Rebels side, that were carried on in bringing that pious Prince to the Block. It gives you just and impartial Characters of the true and suffering Sons of the Church of *England*; as also, impartial Relations of such as were not so, mostly taken from their own Books, and Sermons, or Pamphlets, written by the Brethren or Royal Party. And so much in Answer to Mr. *Calamy's* Preface to the *Abridgment*.

Phil. What a profound Scholar had Mr. *Baxter* been, had he been so fortunate as to have at first met with an excellent sober Pædagogus: But (says Mr. *Calamy*) “He was Abr. p. 3. “unhappy in his Education, with respect both to Learning “and Piety; his Schoolmasters were both lewd and ignorant: For want of better Instructors, he fell into the “hands of the Readers of the Villages he lived in.

Orth. Good Mr. *Calamy*, How come you by this Knowledge? You are but of yesterday, and know nothing of the matter. Did Mr. *Baxter* inform you? He was then young. Besides, for another Reason Mr. *Baxter* is not to be credited.

Phil. Why is he not to be credited?

Orth. Because notoriously given to Falsifying.

Phil. He owns he was in his younger days; but I am apt to think he repented of it, and durst not be guilty of a deliberate Lie in his riper Years.

Orth. Do but put me in mind by and by, I shall convince you, that *Quo semel est imbuta recens, servavit odorem Testa diu*, that is, That what was bred in Mr. *Baxter's* Bone, did never go out of his Flesh.

Phil. Well, I'll mind you of your Promise. But pray, my Friend, What do you conceive was the reason, why these Gentlemen pursue Readers with so much Spite and Virulency.

Orth. *Similitudo morum conciliat amicitiam.* You know what Birds they are that confociate. *Corah* has a *Darban*, and he an *Abiram*. *Readers* are men of Humility, content themselves with such Preferment as fairly offers, and quietly abide in a mean Station till call'd up higher by their Superiors. But these two Gentlemen, that so highly commend the Old Puritans, who by breaking their Ranks put all things into confusion, and who act agreeably thereto themselves, you may be sure, can afford no good Words to men of such un aspiring, quiet, and submissive Spirit. But this is not the only Reason that *Mr. Baxter* and *Mr. Calamy* have so little Kindness for *Readers*.

Phil. What further Reason can you assign?

Orth. They don't approve of their Praying so zealously, and so frequently, for Kings and Queens, and all that are in Authority. They are for setting Christ (as they pretend) upon his Throne, (themselves in reality;) and this cannot be accomplish'd till God shall leave Governours to their mercy.

Phil. Go on.

Orth. They think themselves libell'd in their praying against Schism and Hypocrisie, and are perswaded, that whenever God shall please effectually to hear them, the Dissenters Trade will infallibly be spoil'd, and the *Babel* of their towring Expectations be thrown down.

Phil. Have you any farther Reason?

Orth. Yes, I have one more. These humble Persons, that wou'd rather be Door-keepers in the House of God, than by confederating with the Wicked rise to an height, are instrumental in propagating the Doctrine of our Homilies.

Phil. Surely these Gentlemen cannot be offended at this; for the Homilies, as I have heard, were compos'd by our Primitive Reformers, men of great Piety, Learning, and sound Judgment, and such zealous Assertors of the Reformed Religion, that their *Romish* Adversaries convey'd them to Heaven in a fiery Chariot. What, pray, can these contain, the reading whereof provokes this old and young Gentleman?

Orth.

Orth. Oh, Friend, there is one Homily that condemns Rebellion to the Pit of Hell; that makes *Lucifer* the Father of Rebels; that assigns the very hottest place in that dreadful Region, where is heat without light, to those who are disobedient to Governours, that makes Rebellion not a single, but a complicated Sin, and the Mother of almost all Sins.

Phil. But here's an Outcry for I know not what. Pray give me an Instance at least of their scurrilous Reflections upon, and rude Treatment of the Inferiour Clergy.

Orth. Pray read your self *Baxter's* Account out of *Calamy*. *Abr. p. 5.*

Phil. "The Country he lived in had very little Preaching; the Clergy of those parts were generally lazy and vicious. Some by forging Orders had compass'd a Translation from the Stage to the Pulpit. Several in the Neighbourhood, of the sacred Ministerial Function, were more noted for their Gaming and Drinking, than either their Preaching or good Living. In a word, there was scarce the face of Religion. Now supposing this a true Account, what have you to reply to it?"

Orth. I say, if the Account be true, which I much suspect, considering the hands it comes from, those Shepherds were extremely faulty, and will certainly be severely reckon'd with for their Laziness, in not feeding their Flocks committed to their Charge, and giving such occasion for Scandal to Men of another, or no Religion; nay, I will say further, that the Blood of such as perished for want of due Instruction and good Example, will be required at their hands.

Phil. Well, but what do you say to their forging of Orders?

Orth. I wonder at nothing from Mr. *Baxter* and *Calamy*; but it wou'd have look'd very odd in men of Truth, Sobriety and Candour, to bring an Odium upon the Clergy in general from the ill Practices of such men as forg'd their Orders. But to return an Answer to you: I no more look upon such to be Clergy-men as forge their Orders, than I

do.

do upon those to be of the Clergy (I mean with us in *England*) who have no Ordination but from *Presbyterians*.

Phil. Can you tax the *Presbyterian* Ministers of those times with being Drunkards, or Lazy, or addicted to Gaming?

Orth. I will answer you, with asking you a few Questions. Pray which is worse, to have a moderate Thirst after Wine and strong Drink, or to be insatiably greedy of Blood, and of the best Blood too in the Kingdom? Which is more inexcusable, to sit still, and lay our hands upon our mouths, or to rise up and harangue the People in Attempts to cause Ruin and Desolation in a Kingdom? Which is the greater Fault, to hazard a small matter at play of what is our own, or (if you will have it so) all we have, or to stake Church and State, Religion, Liberty, or Property, as Mr. *Baxter* very well knew who did, and Mr. *Calamy* can guess, who would play such a Game again?

Phil. I understand you. You'll be even with these Gentlemen, when you have proved Mr. *Baxter* given to Falsifying.

Orth. I'll give you two Instances, which will be enough.

Phil. But don't go too far back for it; it will signifie nothing, if what you charge him with was in the days of his Youth, and whilst he was in his unregenerate state.

Orth. I'll not go out of your Knowledge, who are young, and charge him with such a Falsity, as most of the Nation know to be so.

Phil. I long to hear it; but had much rather the Brat could be laid justly at another's Door. Pray, in plain English, what is the Lie you charge him with?

Orth. For his asserting, p. 119. of the third part of the Life, " That many *French* Ministers, sentenc'd to Death
Case of present Concern, p. 11. " and Banishment, came hither for Refuge, and the Church-
 " men relieve them not, because they are not for English
 " Diocesans and Conformity. Pray, what do you think of it?

Phil.

Phil. I must in this Cause be a Witness against him, and (as you say) so must the Nation: for many of those did not only Conform, but met with good Preferment; and those that did not, tasted very liberally of the Bishops and Clergy's Benevolence. But what's the other Falshood? But this which you have mention'd is enough to blast the Credit of Mr. *Baxter*, who has been so guilty of a notorious Falshood. Out with it, Sir.

Vid. Mr. Long's Review of Baxter's Life, 211, 212, 213.

Orth. Have a little Patience, for the Wise-man says, *Wo to him that has lost it.* 'Tis a black, horrid, and dismal Story, mixt to the height with Malice, Rancour, Venom, Rebellion, and Lying, and what not. In Pag. 6. Mr. *Calamy* says, "That Mr. *Baxter* was addicted to Lying for fear of Correction; he join'd sometimes with naughty Boys in Robbing Orchards of their Fruit, when he had enough at home. That's not fair, to steal when there was no occasion. Ah *Richard*! Hadst thou been soundly flogg'd by thy reading *Pædagogues* for thy Lying and Stealing in thy tender Years, you might have been a much better Man, and there might have been greater hopes of your being with the Saints in Everlasting Rest. And now, my Friend *Phil.* I'll prove to thee, as plain as the back of thy hand, that Mr. *Baxter*, in one complicated act, was guilty of Murder, black Rancour, and infernal Malice, join'd with notorious Lying; which is enough to shock, if not totally ruin, Mr. *Baxter's* Reputation with all Men of Honour and Honesty.

Eccles. 14.

Abt. 6.

Phil. Take care how you slander a Minister of Christ, as I am sure Mr. *Baxter* was.

Orth. Away with the Cant, and listen a while, and give Attention to my Relation, which I had from the Writer of the Life of the Reverend Dr. *Heylin*. 'Tis to be found in the Preface, towards the End. Dr. *Heylin* (says the Author) *was no more a Man of Blood, than St. Paul was a Mover of Sedition: and if he had, 'tis to be hoped he might have been as well Canoniz'd for fighting for his Prince, as some others are celebrated for Saints in the Everlasting Rest, who died in the very Act of Rebellion against him. But 'tis no new thing, for those*

Vernon's Life of Dr. Heylin.

The Reader
is desir'd to
read Sir
Roger's
Obser. 165.
1-Vol. and
he'll meet
with the
Major's
Letter to
Mr. Bax-
ter, too
long to be
here inser-
ted.

those who cut a Purse to cry, *Stop the Thief*. Mr. Baxter may be pleas'd to call to mind (the Reader is desir'd to take notice, that this was wrote in Mr. Baxter's Life-time) what was done to one Major Jennings the last War, in that Fight that was between Lynsel and Longford in the County of Salop, where the King's Party having unfortunately the worse of the day, the poor Major was stript almost naked, and left for dead in the Field. But Mr. Baxter and one Lieutenant Hurdman taking their Walk among the wounded and dead Bodies, perceiv'd some Life left in the Major; Hurdman (a vile Wretch) run him through the Body in cold Blood, Mr. Baxter looking on all the while, and taking off with his own hands the King's Picture from about his Neck, telling him, as he was swimming in his Gore, that he was a Popish Rogue, and that was his Crucifix. Which Picture was kept by Mr. Baxter for many years, till it was got from him (but not without much difficulty) by one Mr. Summerfield, who then lived with Sir Thomas Rouse, and generously restor'd it to the poor Man, now alive at Wick near Pashare in Worcestershire, although at the first suppos'd to be dead, being, after the Wounds given him, dragg'd up and down the Field by the merciless Soldiers; Mr. Baxter approving of the Inhumanity, by feeding his eyes with so bloody and barbarous a Spectacle.

I Thomas Jennings Subscribe to the Truth of this Narration above-mention'd, and have hereunto put my Hand and Seal, this second day of March, 1682.

THOMAS JENNINGS.

Sign'd and Seal'd March 2. 1682,

in the presence of
JOHN CLARK, Minister of Wick.

THOMAS DARK.

This was your Pious, Merciful, Mr. Richard Baxter. Are you not astonish'd at the Monstrosity of this Act? He could call the Royal Picture a Crucifix, and the poor Man a Popish Rogue. This is Rancour and Lying with a Witness.

Phil. Good Sir, let me beg of you to break off this ungrateful

ungrateful Subject, and pass on to somewhat else. Mr. *Baxter* says, that in the Year 1641, there was a great occasion *Abridg.* for the Reformation of the Clergy.

Orth. Yes, there are more and very severe *Invectives* against them in general. Pray read them.

Phil. "Multitudes from all Quarters came up immediately with Petitions against their Ministers, charging them with Insufficiency, false Doctrine, illegal Innovations, or Scandal. Mr. *White* was Chair-man, and was the Publisher of two Centuries of Scandalous Ministers. 21.

Orth. Such as these (if such at all) were suitable Society for *Richard* in those days. But with his and his Second's good leave, I'll confront to this the Account given by my Lord *Clarendon*, who is at least as authentick an Historian as either Mr. *Baxter* or his Admirer. "I cannot (says *Clar. Hist.* of the Re-
"that noble Historian) but say, for the Honour of the bel. 1 Vol.
"King, and of those who were trusted by him in his Eccle- p. 61.
"siastical Collations in those reproach'd and condemn'd
"times, there was not one Church-man in any degree of
"Favour or Acceptance (and this the Inquisition that has
"since been made upon them, and stricter never was in any
"Age, we must confess) of a scandalous Insufficiency of
"Learning, or of a more scandalous condition of Life; but
"on the contrary, most of them of confess'd eminent parts
"in Knowledge, and of vertuous and unblemish'd Lives.

Phil. Well, but you shall see the Candour and Charity *Abridg.* 21.
of Mr. *Baxter*: He, good Man, was against the Publication of them, and the concealing of which had certainly been a much greater Service to Religion, which was but making Sport for Atheists, Papists, and Profane.

Orth. Mr. *Baxter's* Charity to the King and Clergy (as we shall see presently) soon grew cold; and the true reason of the Sport for Atheists, was to see some men (Mr. *Calamy* knows whom I mean) mimic Religion, pretend to much Godliness, when there was nothing but Vizard and Hypocrisie, and to see them cry out upon and expel such glorious Lights, men of eminent parts in Knowledge, and

Clar. Hist. 263. as the Lord of Clarendon has it, men of unspotted Lives.

Mr. Baxter forgot the Story of Sir John Birkenhead, when the King, that pious Martyr King Charles I. shew'd him *White's Century*; *If your Majesty pleases, I'll recriminate upon them, and expose them for Hypocrites, &c.* Na, says the King, *God forgive them; to do so will be sport for the Atheists, Papists, and Profane.* And to shew you a little more of Mr. Baxter's Charity to the King, I pray read where 'tis mark'd.

Abridg. 45. Phil. I will so. — 'But the generality of those who 'were called Puritans and Precisians, and were for serious 'Godliness, both Ministers and People, adher'd to the Par- 'liament; on the other side, they who were for Looseness, 'Swearing, Gaming, and Drinking, the Ministers and 'People, who were against the strict Observation of the 'Lord's Day, and fond of Dancing and Recreations at those 'sacred Seasons, that plac'd all their Religion in going to 'Church and hearing Common-Prayer, that were against 'serious Preaching, and for running down all those who 'were stricter than themselves; these all along adhered to 'the King. Now you have it.

Orth. It makes me tremble to think how the Spirit of Lying and Slandering has possess'd some! If you believe Mr. Baxter, there was not a serious Christian in the King's whole Army: the Parliament's consisted only of Saints and Martyrs, tho' there were many Priests of the Church of Rome lay disguis'd in it. And let Mr. Baxter's Second know, That there is more Religion in going to Church, and praying to God in a sound, well-composed Liturgy, than in a long-winded, fulsome, indigested Cant; that there is more Religion in praying by Form for things warrantable from the Word of God, nay for what we are commanded there to pray for, as, for Prosperity to Kings and their Kingdoms, that God (in whose hands the hearts of Kings are) would incline his Vicegerents to encourage Virtue and discountenance Vice, than for Ruin and Destruction to both. Mr. Baxter does not tell us, what sacrilegious Plunder his Puritanical Parliament Army were guilty of, how they defiled

led Altars, defaced Churches, &c. And now let him make the best on't.

Phil. My good Friend, let me ask you one Question. Do you think King *Charles I.* had any hand in the *Irish* Rebellion? for Mr. *Calamy* says, that as Providence order'd it, a certain memorable Particularity help'd to set the matter in a true light, and then follows the Story of my Lord *Antrim*; and Mr. *B.* says, that he had the King's Consent for what he did. Abridg. 44.

Orth. Out upon him: I prithee read these two Pamphlets, *Mr. Long's Review of Baxter's Life* (the Book's a rarity) and *The Case of present Concern*; and then you'll have my Lord *Antrim's* matter set in a true Light. And since Mr. *Calamy* takes not one word of notice that the whole Story was unanswerably answer'd by the Reverend Mr. *Long* of *Exeter*, printed in the Year 1697; and since that excellent Answer is so very scarce (for 'twas with great difficulty that I got the sight on't) I shall for the sake of Posterity beg leave to make use of him:

' The Forgery of which Story (discourfing upon my Lord *Antrim's* Commission) appeared at the Trial of Sir *Phelim O Neale*, who, at his Trial, and also at his Execution, tho' he was offer'd Pardon for Life, and Restitution of his Estate, if he wou'd own that he had a Commission from the King to authorize what he had done; he affirm'd constantly, That he had no such Commission from the King, nor was His Majesty privy to their Infurrection. This Relation is attested by Dr. *Ker* Dean of *Ardagh*, who was present at his Trial and Execution, and affirms the same in a Letter printed *Feb. 28. 1681*, a Copy of which I shall give you, when I have told another part of his Confession; viz. That he having found a Patent of the Lord *Caulfield's*, when he seiz'd on *Charlemount* Castle, to which the Broad Seal was annex'd, he caus'd a Commission agreeable to his own purpose, and caus'd the Broad Seal to be affixed to it, and so gave it out, that he had the King's Commission for what he did. Long's Review, 195, &c.

' Now for the further clearing of the Royal Martyr from this foul Imputation, it will appear, that he had Intelligence from abroad, what great Companies of Priests and Soldiers were from several Countries hast'ning into *Ireland*, and that others

from Ireland had Correspondence with divers Soldiers of that Nation, then in Foreign Service; which gave suspicion that there would be some Trouble in that Nation; whereupon His Majesty, in a Letter drawn by Sir Henry Vane, and sent to the Lords Justices in that Kingdom, charg'd them with great care and diligence to secure themselves against what was likely to happen.

The Copy of the Dean's Letter.

Dean of
Ardagh's
Letter.

DR. John Ker of Ardagh being present in the Court in Dublin when Sir Phelim O Neale was Tried and Examined, about a Commission which, as was said, he had from Charles Stuart, for levying the War in Ireland, did testify, that the said Sir Phelim O Neale answered, That he never had any such Commission; and that it being proved in Court by Sir Joseph Travers and others, that the said Sir Phelim had such Commission, and did shew it to the said Sir Joseph and others in the beginning of the Irish Rebellion; the said Phelim confessed, That when he surprized the Castle of Charlemount, that he ordered one Mr. Harrifon and another Gentleman to cut the King's Broad Seal from a Patent of the Lord Caulfield's, which he found in Charlemount, and to affix it to a Commission which Sir Phelim had ordered to be drawn. And the said Mr. Harrifon did, in the face of the whole Court, confess, That by Sir Phelim's Order he did stitch the Silk Cord and Label of that Seal, and fixed the Label and Seal to the said Commission. And the Court urging the said Phelim to declare why he did so deceive the People; he answered, that no man could blame him to use all means to promote the Cause he had so far engag'd in. And upon the second day of his Trial, some of the Judges told him, That if he could produce any material Proof that he had such a Commission, from Charles Stuart, to declare and prove it before Sentence had passed against him, that he the said Phelim should be restored to his Estate and Liberty: but he answered, that he could prove no such thing. Nevertheless, they gave him time to consider of it, till the next day; upon which day Sir Phelim being urged again by the Court, he declared again, That he never could prove any such thing; and that he could not in Conscience calumniate the King, tho' he had been frequently solicited thereunto by fair Promises and great Rewards while he was in Prison. And proceeding further in this Discourse,

course, he was stop't before he had ended what he had to say; and the Sentence of Death was pronounc'd against him.

And the said Dr. Ker further declares, That he was very near the said Sir Phelim when he was upon the Ladder at his Execution, and that one Marshal Peak, and another Marshal, before the said Sir Phelim was cast off, came riding towards the place in great haste, and cried aloud, Stop a little: and having passed the Throng of Spectators, one of them whisper'd the said Sir Phelim; and the said Sir Phelim answered, in the hearing of several Hundreds, of whom I was one, I thank the Lieutenant-General for his intended mercy; but I declare before God and his holy Angels, and all you that hear me, that I never had any Commission from the King for what I have done in levying and prosecuting of this War, and do heartily beg your pardon, &c. To the Testimony whereof, the said Dr. Ker did subscribe his Seal, Feb. 28. 1681.

Sir Henry Vane's Letter to the Lords Justices, concerning some Information of Danger in Ireland.

Right Honourable,

HIS Majesty has commanded me to acquaint your Lordships with an Advice given him from abroad, and confirm'd by his Ministers in Spain and elsewhere, which in this distemper'd time and conjuncture of Affairs deserves to be seriously considered, and an especial care and watchfulness to be had therein; which is, That of late there have passed from Spain (and the like may well have been from other parts) an unspeakable number of Irish Churchmen for England and Ireland, and some good old Soldiers, under Pretext of asking leave to raise Men for the King of Spain; whereas it is observed, among the Irish Friars there, a Whisper runs, as if they expected a Rebellion in Ireland, particularly in Connaught. Wherefore his Majesty thought fit to give your Lordships this notice, that in your Wisdom you might manage the same with that dexterity and secrecy, as to discover and prevent so pernicious a Design, if any such there should be, and to have a watchful eye on the Proceedings and Actions of those who come thither from abroad, on what pretext soever: And so herewith I rest,

Your Lordships most Humble Servant, HENRY VANE.

‘ The Original Letter was found among the Papers of Sir
 ‘ *John Parsons*, one of the Lords Justices.

‘ Moreover, Abp. *Usher* saw a Letter of the King’s own writing to the Lords Justices to the same purpose, about the same thing, as he affirm’d to Bp. *Hacket*, who relates the thing in the Life of Abp. *Williams*, Part II. 19.

‘ So that there can be no colour of His Majesty’s designing such an Insurrection, against which he often repeated his solemn Protestations, published Declarations, and made many Overtures to the Parliament of *England* for the Suppression of that Rebellion, concerning which he says enough to satisfie any but an Infidel; as first, That the Sea of Blood which had been there barbarously and cruelly shed, was enough to drown any man in eternal Infamy and Misery, whom God should find the malicious Author and Instigator of its Effusion; and that there was nothing that could be more abhorring to him, being so full of Sin against God, Disloyalty to himself, and Destruction to his Subjects.

‘ Yet some men (says that Royal Martyr) took it very ill not to be believed that what the *Irish* Rebels did, was by my Privy at least, if not by my Commission: but these Men well know, that it is no News for my Subjects to fight, not only without my Commission, but against my Command and Person too; and yet to pretend they fight by my Authority, and for my Safety. But as I have no Judge but God above me, so I can have comfort to appeal to his Omniscience. Which the King doth with this Imprecation in a Soliloquy immediately following in these Words; If I have desired or delighted in the woful day of my Kingdoms Calamities; if I have not earnestly studied, and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and composing of these bloody Distractions; then let thy hand be against me and my Father’s House. And the Restoration of his Son in so wonderful a manner, seems strongly to assert the Father’s Innocency. But I need not mention any more concerning the King’s Obstinacy to Popery, than what he says in the following Letter to the Heads of the Popish Party.

A Letter, by the King's Order, to the Lord Muskerry, &c.

THE King tells the Rebels — *Your Party, it seems, is not satisfied with the utmost that his Majesty can grant in matters of Religion; that is, the taking away the Penal Laws against Roman Catholicks in that Kingdom; and his Majesty hears, that you insist upon the Demands of Churches for the publick Exercise of your Religion, which is the occasion that His Majesty hath commanded me thus frankly to write unto you, and to tell you, that he cannot believe it possible, that rational and prudent Men (had there been no Professions made to the contrary) can insist upon that which must needs be so destructive to His Majesty at the present, and to your selves in the Consequences of his Ruin. Wherefore, My Lords and Gentlemen, to disabuse you, I am commanded by His Majesty to declare unto you, That were his Condition of his Affairs much more desperate than it is, he wou'd never redeem them by any Concession of so much Wrong both to his Honour and Conscience. It is for the Defence of Religion principally that he hath undergone the Extremities of War here; and he will never redeem his Crown by sacrificing it there. So that to deal clearly with you, as you may be happy your selves, and be happy Instruments of his Majesty's Restoring, if you will be contented with Reason, and give him that speedy Assistance which you well may; so if nothing will content you, but what must wound his Honour and Conscience, you must expect, that how low soever the Rebels of this Kingdom are to him, he will in that point join with them the Scots, or any of the Protestant Profession, rather than do the least Act that may hazard that Religion, in which and for which he will live and die. Having said thus much, by his Majesty's Command, I have no more to add, but that I shall think my self very happy if this take any such effect, as may tend to the Peace of that Kingdom, and make me*

Cardiff Aug. 1. 1645.

Your affectionate Servant.

'This Lord also, at the time of his Execution, did most solemnly, as he hoped for Salvation, declare the King's Innocency as to that War. When the Reader hath seriously considered the Import of this Letter, I earnestly intreat him to read the second Meditation of the *Enquiry*, relating to the Death

‘ of the Earl of *Strafford*, I dare appeal to his Conscience (of
 ‘ what quality soever he be) whether it were morally possible
 ‘ for such a Person, who so passionately, and for many Years,
 ‘ till his very Death almost, daily bewailed his constrain’d and
 ‘ unwilling Assent to his Death, to have a Conscience so seared,
 ‘ and void of all sense, as in case he had been wilfully and de-
 ‘ signedly guilty of promoting and maintaining that barbarous
 ‘ War, wherein as well the Blood of those that fought under
 ‘ my Lord *Ormond* by his undoubted Commission, as of those
 ‘ that fought against him by a falsely pretended one, might
 ‘ justly have been charged on him, if that pretence had been
 ‘ true, to have lived about seven Years, and died without any
 ‘ regret of Conscience for so much Blood-guiltiness.

Bp. Hacket's Testimony on July 24. 1654.

AT *Rigate in Surrey* I had a Conference about this Defamati-
 on with the excellent Primate of *Armagh*: saith he, Stop
 their mouths with this that I shall faithfully tell you. *Sir William*
Parlons, our Chief Justice, was much intrusted with the King's
 Affairs in *Ireland*: he deceasing, his Friends sent his Papers to
 me. In his Cabinet I found a Letter written by the King, to warn
 him to look well to the Meetings of the Popish Irish; for he had re-
 ceived certain Intelligence out of Spain, that they were upon some
 great Design of Blood and Confusion, &c. I was so scrupulous, saith
 Bp. Hacket, to forget nothing of this Relation, that before I stir-
 red, I wrote down the Speaker, the Words, the Place, the Tear,
 the Day.

Abp. Wil-
liams's
Life, p.
197, par. 2.

There needs nothing more to be said of Mr. B.'s being past doubt
 that *Antrim* had the King's Commission for the Irish first Insurre-
 ction, than that what the King replied to that virulent Remonstrance
 of no farther Addresses, That if the Irish Rebellion can be justly
 charged on the King, then I shall not blame any for believing all
 the rest of the Allegations against him.

King's
Works, P.
289. 1662.

The Regicides, in the last Charge against the King, did not im-
 pute to him any hand in the first Insurrection in *Ireland*; but only
 his continuing Commissioners to the Prince and other Rebels, and
 to the Earl of *Ormond*, and to the Irish Rebels and Revolters
 associated with him.

Now,

Now, *Phil.* to refresh your Memory, I shall sum up in short the foresaid Testimonies about my Lord *Antrim*, the Dean of *Ardayb's* Testimony of what he heard from Sir *Phelim O Neale*, Sir *Henry Kane's* Letter to the Lords Justices of *Ireland*, a Letter to my Lord *Muskerry*, who declared the King's Innocency at his Death; the Great Primate's Conference with Bp. *Hacket*, and the Regicides profound Silence in that Affair, are Arguments more than enough to clear the King's Innocency, and to set you right about my Lord *Antrim's* Affair. The Rankness of which Falsity calls to my mind what the Bp. of *Worcester* said of Mr. *Baxter*, (and I am afraid 'twill be true of Mr. *Calamy*, if not prevented) that *he wou'd die leaving his Sting in the Wounds of the Church.*

Phil. Many Thanks to you for your great pains in clearing up that Case of my Lord *Antrim*: I am satisfied with the King's Innocency, which I hope will appear so to all. I have only one Scruple remaining; for Mr. C. says, that the Marquess of *Antrim* was forc'd to produce in the House of Commons a Letter of K. *Charles I.* by which he gave him Order for the Taking up Arms.

Orth. This Story of the Letter came out of the same Mint with the former. Pray, Sir, let me ask Mr. *Calamy* a few Questions: What Authority has he for it besides *B.'s* Word? Has he any Journal of the House of Commons, or any other Authority whatsoever? And had it been in so publick a manner expos'd, sure some other besides *B.* wou'd have taken notice of it: something of it wou'd have been inserted in the Journals of that House, if not the Letter itself.

*Case of
presens Con-
cern, P. 2.*

But suppose all this was granted, what wou'd it amount to? We must see the Date of the Letter, what Time it was, when the King gave Orders to my Lord *Antrim* to take up Arms; to what End it was, whether to Massacre the Protestants, or to assist his Majesty against his bloody Rebels then in Arms against him in *England* and *Scotland*. We know this Marquess sent Forces to the glorious *Montross* in *Scotland*, where they did eminent Service in reducing the unnatural Rebels there: and we doubt not but he had the King's Order for it. And moreover, after the Cessation made by the Duke of *Ormond* with the *Irish*,

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many

many of them return'd to their Duty, and fought under the said Duke, his Majesty's Lord-Lieutenant there, against the Rebels. And why might not my Lord of *Antrim* have a Commission, as well as others? So that till we see the Date of these pretended Orders to the Marquess of *Antrim*, and the Contents of them, no Judgment can be made. They must be sent before the Massacre of 1641, to answer to the Diabolical Malice of these Tongues, set on fire in Hell: Therefore let them produce their Evidence.

Par. I. 238.
257, 8.

Now, *Phil.* I wou'd have you and your Friends consult the Lord *Clarendon's* History, and *Richard Cox's Hibernia Anglicana*, printed in 1691, and you'll have reason to be asham'd and blush (if you can) at such unheard-of and unaccountable Slanders.

Phil. I observe, that on all occasions you reflect on Mr. *Calamy's* Worthies, as a restless bloody-sort of People. You will not, I hope, charge them with being Accessaries to the King's Death?

Orth. The King's Death! a very soft word for the most inhumane barbarous Murder that was ever acted in a Christian Country. Pray, what inclines you to think them not chargeable?

Abr. p. 60.

Phil. Because Mr. *Baxter* says, All this time, generally, the Ministers Preach'd and Pray'd against Disloyalty.

Orth. If Mr. *B.* says what makes for his own Party, and against the Church, I grant 'tis possible to be true; but at the same time 'tis odds to the contrary. If you please, we'll try this point, and see how the leading Men of his side in those times behaved themselves in respect to Governours.

Phil. Perhaps I may object against your way of Proceedings; I shall not submit to have the Cause tried by Judges, Juries, and Witnesses of your own side.

Orth. It shall be manag'd to your own Satisfaction; you your self shall be Judge and Jury; and Nonconformists only, and most of them Mr. *Calamy's* Worthies, shall be evidence in the case.

Phil. This is fair-dealing indeed. Who's the first Witness?

Orth. The first is *Salmasius*, a learned Presbyterian, the brave Defender of the Royal Cause.

Phil.

Phil. He's a celebrated Person, and in Vogue with all Protestants. What says he to the point?

Orth. In his Defence of the Royal Martyr, he has these words: *Nunc ad eam quæstionem pervenimus, quæ tractandum est, quinam fuerunt Rebellionis illius, & Condemnationis præcipui auctores? Quis Anglis, Scotis, & Hibernis optimum Regem pessimo facinore abstulit; & tria hæc Regna magnæ Insulæ, sub uno Rege quondam florentia & beata, tot ruinis, stragibus & Incendiis miscuit:* that is, We are now come to that Question, in which we must handle and shew, who were the chief Authors of that Rebellion and Condemnation, which by the height of Wickedness, ravish'd from the *English, Irish, and Scots*, the best King, and mingled three Kingdoms, once flourishing under one King, with so many Slaughters, Ruins, and Flames.

Sal. Defensio Regia,
P. 343.
printed
1650.

Again, *Et quinam alii merito Regis occisi crimine notari, magis debuere, quam qui viam ad eum occidendum munierunt; Illi qui nefariam securim cervicibus ejus inflixerant, non alii. Si latro viatorem per sylvam transientem insidiis exceperit, gladio discinctum, & crumena spoliatum, vestimentis etiam postremo nudatum, ad arborem reliquerit, & fera sylvestris de nocte superveniens, & miseram sic devinctum offendens, invaserit, laniaverit, & consumpserit; cui debet ascribi mortis ejus causa, Latroni aut Feræ? Ille amovit enssem viatori, quo se defendere potuit, & insuper devinctum, dilacerandum lupis objecit, ergo ille potius titulum hujus cædis, quam bellua feret. Mutatis nominibus hæc fabula Presbyterianis convenit, nam res eadem est. Illi aliquot annis ante, omnibus modis, per varias petitiones, jus Regis imminuere, & auctoritatem ejus infringere moliri fuerunt:* that is, And who are more deservedly to be mark'd for the Murder of the King, than they who fortified the way to kill him: they are the Persons that chop'd off his Head, and not the other. If a Robber should by his Snares seize on a Traveller, going through a Wood, and should take away his Money and Sword, and, as many do, should tie him naked to a Tree; and a wild Beast coming up by night, and finding this miserable Wretch thus fastned to a Tree, should fall on him and tear him in pieces; to whom ought his Death to be ascribed, to the Thief or Beast? The Thief took away the Sword, by which he was to defend him-

P. 353.

self, and moreover left him bound, to be devoured by the Wolves; and therefore the Thief is to be accounted the Murderer, not the Beast. The Names being changed, this Fable agrees with the *Presbyterians*; for 'tis the same thing: they for some Years past, endeavour'd by all ways, and by divers Petitions, to diminish the King's Rights, and to infringe his Authority.

And speaking of the High Court of Justice, he has these *Def. Regia*, words; *Hoc ergo maneat fixum, tanquam jus nunquam movendum,*
468. Salm. & ab omnibus gentibus Paganis, Judæis, Christianis semper observatum, Regem judicari non posse, & proinde male à suis judicatum fuisse Carolum. Scitum est & verè dictum à quodam de Secta Independentium, Regem à Carolo primum perdidisse Presbyterianos, deinde in Carolum ipsum trucidasse Independentes. Ita justum Regem & sanctum extinxere Presbyteriani; Carolum verò, virum probum & pium, non tantum innocentem Independentes condemnarunt: that is, This remains a fix'd immovable Right, and is always observ'd by all Nations, Pagans, Jews, and Christians, that the King cannot be judg'd; and therefore *Charles* was evilly judg'd by them. 'Twas wittily and truly spoke by a certain Independent, That the *Presbyterians* first of all killed the King in *Charles*, and the Independants afterwards did murder *Charles* himself. So the *Presbyterians* did extinguish the just and holy King; but the Independants did condemn the honest, pious, and innocent *Charles*.

Phil. Tho' this Witness was a *Presbyterian*, and a Person of great Judgment and Integrity, yet he espoused the Royal Cause, and so his Evidence not so convincing as some of Mr. *Calamy's* Worthies. Pray call in one of them.

Ortho. Agreed. The first I shall summon, for Name sake, and for the great Respect his *Nepos* pays him, shall be his Grandfather *Edmund Calamy*, whom, amongst other great Elogiums, he dignifies with the title of Tender-spirited.

Phil. That's an unexceptionable Witness indeed. I'll call him in. Mr. *Edmund Calamy*, Do you know any *Presbyterian* Divines, who helpt to embroil the Kingdom about 1640, and contributed to the Death of King *Charles I.*

Edm. Almost all of Note did forward that glorious Work;
 I my

I my self particularly was very active in it. Look into my Speech at *Guild hall*, and you'll see how earnestly I press'd the calling in the *Scotch* Army to help the Lord's People against the King and his Popish and Plundering Army. The Speech is too long to repeat all. I will quote you two or three Passages, by which you may see how zealous I was for the Cause. I tell them at the beginning of the Speech, that if I had as many Lives as I have Hairs on my Head, I would be willing to sacrifice all these Lives in this Cause. I tell my Auditors, that 'tis as lawful to call the *Scotch* Army to fight against the King, as 'tis to call a Neighbour to help to quench a Fire. I assure them, in the word of a Minister, that the furnishing Money to bring in this Army, will be a means to make them sooner ascend up *Jacob's* Ladder; and that certainly that Man will never get up *Jacob's* Ladder, that lets his Money rust at such a time as this.

I told them, I counted it the greatest opportunity that God did ever offer to the Godly of this Kingdom, to give them some Money to lend to this Cause. A great many such forcible and pressing Arguments I use, and at last make that emphatical Conclusion, I have been here five Years in this City, and tho' I had never done any good in my place, I should now think it great fruit of my coming to this City, if after five Years unprofitableness, I might speak something that might enlarge your hearts to a greater Liberality (in this Cause.)

In my Sermon preach'd before the Lords, Dec. 25. 1644. I assert, That the King that should have been a Head of Gold, was an Iron Head to crush its own Body in pieces. — That all those who fought under the King's Banner against the Parliament, fought themselves into Slavery. — That those that made their Peace with him at *Oxford*, (that is, by returning to their Duty) were *Judas's* of *England*; and it were just with God to give them their portion with *Judas*. — And I call fighting against the King, fighting the Lord's Battles; and affirm, that he who dies in fighting, dies a Martyr. Mark this last; *I affirm that he who dies fighting, &c.*

Phil. This is home to the purpose. Sir, you may withdraw. Good God! I know not whether his Grandson seems more
aban-

abandon'd of Wit or Grace, to go out of his way to acquaint the World that this Incendiary is his Grandfather, and he's proud of the Relation. — I protest, I had rather derive my Original from a Dunghil, than glory in such a Luciferian Ancestor. What's the meaning of all this? but to tell the Government, that he's an Egg from the old Serpent, and hopes to be able in a little time to sting.

Orth. Now if such a tender-spirited Man (as our tender-spirited Grandson wisely calls him) has, out of the Abundance of his Tenderness, encourag'd Blood, Rapine, and Desolation, and so much contributed to bring K. Charles I. to the Block; what may we think others have done, whom he cannot dignifie with the Title of Tender-spirited: for of all his Worthies, you'll find but very few whom he commends for their peaceable Tempers, or being impressible by pity. No, they are for *armatum Evangelium*; Meekness cannot bind Kings in Chains, nor Nobles in Links of Iron; cannot bring down the Great, nor advance the Mean.

Phil. I hope you cannot find such another tender-spirited Man among *Nepos's* Worthies.

Orth. Yes, I can match him, and that with one whom our Abridger calls an hearty Lover of God, Goodness, and all good Men; a Scripture-preacher, a great Man in Prayer.

Phil. If he merits this Character, I'm sure he's no Match for the other. He that loves God, whom he hath not seen, always loves his Neighbour whom he has seen; and he that does so, will not encourage the murdering and plundering him. He that preaches Scripture, puts his Hearers in mind, as the Scripture directs, to be subject to Princes, both good and bad; He that brings Souls to God, makes them peaceable; for without Peace no man shall see God. — But pray, Sir, who is the next Witness that I shall call, that is characteriz'd, as before.

Orth. Mr. Thomas Case, one of the *Assembly of Divines*.

Phil. Mr. Thomas Case, Pray, what did you do in order to unsettle K. Charles I. and bring him to the Block?

Case. In a Thanksgiving Sermon for the Surrender of *Chester*, I have these words; Alas, alas, they have put out the eyes of his Majesty, and carried him away captive; Our King is in
Babylon

Babylon among Idolaters, and Murderers; we have no King. And in another Sermon, encouraging the Extirpation of the *Cavaliers*, I have this remarkable Sentence.——Cursed be he, ^{On Dan. 9. 32.} that with-holdeth his Sword from Blood, that spares when God saith strike; that suffers those to escape whom God has appointed to Destruction.——And in my Sermon to the Commons, I tell them, —— That there is no dallying with God now; much hath been used already, too much. God is angry, and he seems to ask this once more. Will you strike? will you execute Judgment? or will you not? Tell me, for if you will not, I will; I will have the Enemies Blood, and yours too, if you will not execute Judgment on Delinquents. The Day of Vengeance is in my heart, and the Year of my Redeemer is come.—Nor did I only incite them to Rage against the King, but when they had his Blood, to prevent their repenting thereof, I tell them, that the Murderers of our Saviour were less guilty than was that King.

1644.

Phil. It goes on your side. Whom shall I call next?

Orth. Call (if you please) Mr. *Stephen Marshal*, whom Mr. *Calamy* calls an excellent Divine. Mr. *Stephen Marshal*, What ^{Abr. 52.} did you to help in the Work of Reformation, and to remove Opposition?

Steph. Marshal. In a Sermon *March 26. 1645*, I told my Hearers, That as *Josiah* put to death those that followed *Baal*, so may the Parliament those that will not return to the Lord, and leave Antichristianism.——In another Sermon to the Two Houses of Parliament, to encourage them to take up Arms against the King, I say, that *David* persecuted by *Saul*, did not only take up Arms for his own Defence, but many of the choicest Men of the Tribes did join with him; and all this while King *Saul* was alive, and *David* but a private Man, and one that had sworn Allegiance to him.——And to the same purpose in my Panegyrick: Go on courageously; never can ye lay out your Blood in such a Quarrel. Christ shed all his blood to save you from Hell; Venture all yours to set him on his Throne.

Phil. An excellent Divine indeed! *Mira verò quæ militi placeant.* A thorough-pac'd *Baxterian* Divine. I'll call Mr. *John Maynard*,

Maynard, whom Mr. Calamy calls an Eminent and Judicious Divine. Mr. *Maynard*, How far did you encourage the King's Death?

Mayn. I did address my self thus to my Hearers, as God's Ambassador; Those my Enemies which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither, and slay them before me. Let me see them executed, Kings, Rulers, People conspiring against the Lord, and against his Christ.

Phil. This is plain *English*; a Saint of the same sanguinary Tribe with the rest. I'll cite but one more, Mr. *John Strickland*, whom Mr. Calamy thus characterizes, A great Divine, generally esteem'd eminent for Expounding the Scriptures, and an excellent Casuist. Mr. *John Strickland*, Did you ever preach any thing tending to encourage Insurrections against the King?

Strickland. In a Sermon 1644, I use these words; The Execution of Judgment is the Lord's Work, and they shall be cursed that do it negligently; and cursed shall they be that keep back the Sword from Blood in this Cause. You know the Story of God's Message unto *Ahab* upon letting *Benhadad* go upon Composition.

Phil. I'll give you no farther trouble, but shall yield the Cause. I have heard enough fully to convince me, that the King's Murder lies in a great measure at the door of Mr. Calamy's Worthies. Such sanguinary Men look liker Emissaries from the Prince of Darkness and Confusion, than Ambassadors of the holy and peaceable Jesus.

Orth. I am glad to find you thus warmly express your Abhorrency of such bloody Doctrine, and shall quote you a Passage out of my Lord Bacon's *Essay of Unity in Religion*, which will keep up your warmth: when you see the *Nepos* of the tender-spirited Grandfather, desire him to weigh and consider it.

‘ It was (says that Learned Gentleman) a great Blasphemy, when the Devil said, *I will ascend, and be like the Highest*; but it is greater Blasphemy to personate God, and bring him in saying, *I will descend, and be like the Prince of Darkness*: And what is it better, to make the Cause of Religion to descend to the cruel and execrable Actions of Murdering Princes, Butchery of the People, and Subversion of States and Govern-

' Governments. Surely this is to bring down the Holy Ghost, instead of the likeness of a Dove, in the shape of a Vulture or Raven, and to set out of the Bark of a Christian Church a Flag of a pack of Pyrates and Assassins.

Phil. A notable Passage indeed, and worthy the Author; I will not fail to give your humble Service to Mr. Calamy, and offer your Request to him to weigh and consider it. This Behaviour of theirs does mightily shock me; and were it not for one thing, I should be less fond of them.

Orth. Pray what may that thing be?

Phil. 'Tis what they mightily value themselves upon, and are always offering the Consideration of it to the World, as the great Argument of their Sincerity, and being Men of Conscience; viz. That at the Restoration, when they were ejected, the chief of their Ministers refused very considerable Preferments, and chose rather to be Silenc'd, than Conform. Pray, Sir, your Opinion in the Case.

Orth. We have considered their Affection to the Monarchy, and in particular to the most pious Monarch K. Charles I. Let us, if you please, examine their Behaviour to the Bishops and Episcopal Clergy, and then you'll see what shameful Inconsistency they wou'd have been guilty of, had they submitted to Episcopal Jurisdiction. At the same time you'll see what sweet-healing Christian Tempers they are of, and what a Happiness and Blessing a Coalition with such Persons wou'd be to the Church, and what great reason we have to go far out of our way to meet them, in order to admit 'em into the Church, whilst thus affected.

Phil. I hope Mr. Baxter is not of the number: he every foot scatters pretty kind Expressions towards Bishops.

Orth. Men are not always of one mind; and Mr. Baxter least of any Man living, that ever had the Honour to be Head of a Party. He might drop now and then a kind word in a lucid Interval, which rarely occur'd. Pray let him speak for himself, and you'll see what kindness he would be thought to have for them.

Phil. Pray, Mr. Baxter, what have you said against Episcopacy? Pray tell us some of your most remarkable Sayings.

Concord,
p. 122.

Bax. I tell you, in a Book I call *Concord*, That the Bishops are Thorns and Thistles, and the military Instruments of the Devil. — And in my *Five Disputations*, I affirm Prelacy to be a Government which gratifieth the Devil and wicked Men, contrary to the Word of God and Apostolical Institution. — Against the Will of Christ, and the Welfare of the Churches. — The Produce of proud Ambition and Arrogancy, and contrary to the expresse Command of Scripture.

Phil. Dr. Owen, What have you to say, to bring Episcopacy into Disreputation.

Dr. Owen. In a Thanksgiving Sermon, Oct. 24. 1651. I ask this Question; What is Episcopacy? I answer my self thus; A meer Antichristian Encroachment upon the Inheritance of Christ.

Phil. Mr. Stephen Marshal, Did you ever utter any hard Language against Prelacy.

Marshal. In my Panegyrick to the Two Houses, when I had declared how thankful we ought to be for our Deliverance from Tyranny and Idolatry; I offer this Exhortation, — Carry on the Work still, leave not a Rag that belongs to Popery, lay not a bit of the Lord's Building with any thing that belongs to Antichrist, but away with it Root and Branch, Head and Tail, till you can say, Now is Christ upon his Throne.

Orth. Call in Mr. Case.

Phil. Mr. Case, Pray how have you expressed your Affection to Episcopacy?

Case. In a Thanksgiving Sermon I tell my Hearers, That Prelacy and Prelatical Clergy, Priests and Jesuits, Ceremonies and Service-book, were mighty Impediments in the way of Reformation. — And in another Sermon, I call Cathedral Bishops, an unhallowed Generation of *Scribes* and *Pharisees*. — And in my Book of the Covenant, I have this Prophetical Exhortation, As thy Sword, Prelacy, hath made many Women childless, so thy Mother Papacy shall be made childless amongst Harlots, your Dioceses Bishopless, and your Sees Lordless, and your Places shall know you no more. Come, my Brethren, and fear not to take *Agag*, that is, Prelacy, and hew it to pieces: and after I call Prelacy a Whelp of the Mother Papacy, a Lioness.

Phil.

Phil. This is Mr. Calamy's hearty Lover of God and good Men, and the great Converter of Souls. Enough of this *Bil- lingsgate*.

Orth. Call in Mr. Jeremy Burroughs.

Phil. Pray, Mr. Burroughs, how stood you affected to Epi- scopacy?

Burr. My mind is known in Print: In a Sermon on *Isaiah*, I have these words: There was Corruption both in Church and Commonwealth; Idols were set up in *Dan* and *Bethel*, that is, in places in Judgment, in the House of God. — And a little after this, which fully explains my Sentiments, — The great- est Blow that ever was given to Antichristian Government, is that which now it has had; *Babylon* is fallen, so fallen (tho' I prov'd a Lying Prophet) that it shall never rise again.

Phil. Mr. William Bridge, What have you ever said against Episcopacy?

Bridge. I made little or no difference betwixt the *English* and *Romish* Episcopacy; I call one and the other *Babylon*, and I thus encourage the Parliament and their Adherents: — Wor- thies of *Israel*, It lies upon you to enquire out this *Babylonish* Company, and to repay them an Eye for an Eye, Tooth for Tooth, Burning for Burning, Ear for Ear, Liberty for Liberty, and Blood for Blood. — Tho' as little ones they call for pity, yet as *Babylonish* they call for Justice, even to Blood.

Phil. This is a very rude, unmannerly, and uncharitable Saint: But you forget the Grandfather, for which his Grand- son will reckon with you. I'll call the old Gentleman. Mr. Calamy, Had you ever said or done any thing against Episcopa- cy, inasmuch that afterwards it would not have look'd well in you to have conform'd.

Calamy. In my Apology I tell the World, That I was one of those that did join in making *Smectymnuus*, which was the first deadly Blow to Episcopacy in *England*, of late Years. — That my House was a Receptracle for Godly Ministers in the worst of Times; and that in it the Remonstrance was framed against the Prelates. And in *Smectymnuus*, I amongst others thus ad- vise, with relation to the Bishops; The plaistering of such rot- ten Members will be a greater Dishonour to the Nation and

Church than their cutting off, and the personal Acts of these Sons of *Belial* being conniv'd at, become National Sins.

Orth. Is it any great Wonder now, if after the condemning Prelacy, and Prelatical Persons, after this manner, those leading Men should refuse to come under Episcopal Jurisdiction? How must they have condemn'd themselves? What Taunts might they have expected from their own Party? — Behold, wou'd some Wag or other have said, a parcel of fine Men, that shew to others a Rock, and split upon it themselves! that point out to us the broad way, and caution us against it, and yet must needs run headlong into it! that shew us *Babylon*, and the Abominations that are in it, and yet wou'd conduct us thither! How must Mr. *Case* have blush'd to associate himself with those he calls Idols, idle Shepherds, dumb Dogs that cannot bark (unless at the Flock of Christ,) greedy Dogs, that could never have enough, swearing, drunken, unclean Priests; *Arminian*, Popish, Idolatrous, Vile Wretches; such, as had *Job* been a live, he wou'd not have set with the Dogs of his Flock; a Generation of Men, that never had a Vote for Jesus Christ; a Nest-

Phil. No more, as you love me: I am abundantly satisfied, that after such foul and unchristian Language bestow'd upon it, it would have been the height of Impudence in them to have complied with Episcopacy. Mr. *Calamy*, instead of calling this *Case* a warm Man, should have affirmed him to be hot, and set on fire from Hell. — But there seems to be some Excuse for their treating the King and Bishops at this rate; and that is, they were all Papists, or at least Popishly affected. First as to the King, I've often heard that he was of the Church of *Rome*, or that way inclined.

Orth. There's no doubt but you have. — And the Saints of those days had no other way to blacken him, that they might palliate that hellish Murder. But I shall answer your Question upon a twofold Authority: as first, the Lord *Clarendon* thus speaks of him; 'The King was always the most punctual Observer of all Decency in his Devotion, and the strictest Promoter of the Ceremonies of the Church, as believing in his Soul, the Church of *England* to be instituted the nearest to the Practice of the Apostles, and the best for the

Propa-

' Propagation and Advancement of the Christian Religion, of
 ' any Church in the World. The Second Authority, are the
 King's own words: The Reverend Dr. *Juxon*, upon the Con-
 clusion of his Majesty's Speech on the Scaffold, address'd him
 in these words; Tho' it be very well known what your Ma-
 jesty's Affections are to the Protestant Religion, yet it may be
 expected that you should say somewhat for the World's Satisfa-
 ction in that particular. I thank you heartily, my Lord, (says
 the King) for that, I had almost forgotten it, (not his Reli-
 gion, as a furious Zealot, a Highflyer has it, there's your King
 that had forgotten his Religion in the last moments) that is,
 to mention what it was. My Conscience in Religion is very
 well known; and therefore I declare before you all, that I die
 a Christian, according to the Profession of the Church of *Eng-
 land*, as I found it left me by my Father, and this honest man
 (meaning Bp. *Juxon*) I think will witness it.

Once more; His Majesty, in his Advice to his Son *Charles II.* Icon. Bas. 1648. p. 245.
 of happy Memory, shews his Affection to the Church of *Eng-
 land* in these words: ' I do require you, and treat you, as your
 ' Father and King, that you never suffer your heart to receive
 ' the least check against, or dissatisfaction from the true Reli-
 ' gion, establish'd in the Church of *England*: I tell you, I have
 ' try'd it, and after much search and many Disputes, have con-
 ' cluded it to be the best in the World, not only in the Com-
 ' munion, as Christian, but as in the special Notion, as Refor-
 ' med, keeping the middle way betwixt the pomp of Supersti-
 ' tious Tyranny, and the meanness of Fantastick Anarchy.-----
 Thus that Ornament of Religion, that Wonder of Ages, that
 Mirrour of Princes and Crown'd Heads.

Phil. Oh! Sir, wou'd my Head was a Fountain of Tears, I
 wou'd freely bestow them in lamenting that barbarous Murder,
 I must (I am convinc'd to) call it so, of that good King.

Orth. And so could I — in the words of the great *Montroß*,
*Weep the World to such a strain,
 That it should deluge once again.*

Phil. I am convinc'd, as to the King, that he was no Papist;
 but how will you vindicate the Bishops of those days from the
 Charge of Popery? particularly, how will you free Abp. *Laud*?
 He

He was the great Eye-sore ; and if he comes off fairly from the Imputation, the rest are clear'd of course.

Orth. I have only three things to say in Vindication of him.

Phil. What are they ?

Orth. The first is, That living and dying, he always own'd himself a Protestant of the Church of *England*, and behav'd himself as such. 2. That he wrote the best of any of his time against the Errors of Popery, (witness his incomparable Answer to *Fisher*) and perhaps as well as any since. 3. That he labour'd more than any Man of his time in proselyting Papists to our Church, and brought more worthy Men over from that Communion than any, yea more than all Mr. *Calamy's* Saints put together.

The Reader
is desired
to consult
Mr. Whar-
ton's Life
of that Abp.

Phil. I shall not trouble you about the rest of the Bishops, as presuming they were all of that stamp : only I can't but enquire into the reason why Mr. *Calamy* and the Party should be implacably averse to the Bishops, and yet always make such honourable mention of Abp. *Williams* ?

Orth. I told you before, that Likeness of Manners begets Affection ; and to shew that he had as candid, peaceable, and Christian Temper as the best of them, yea even old *Calamy* himself, I will give you some Heads out of the Lord *Clarendon's* History : Abp. *Williams* brought the Bishops to a great Disadvantage ; upon the Tryal of *Strafford* he declared his Opinion, that Bishops ought not to be present, and offer'd not only in his own Name, but for the rest of the Bishops, to withdraw, when that Business was entred upon ; and so betrayed a fundamental Right of the whole Order.

Phil. A Cloak wou'd better become such a Man, than either Lawn sleeves, or Scotch-cloth. — I am apt to think, that your Church and Church-men are misrepresented, when accused of symbolizing with Popery ; I likewise believe, that a great many are discourag'd from coming over to you, by reason of such Misrepresentations. Do you mind what Mr. *Baxter's* Second says, ' How Mr. *John Corbet* began his Ministry, and lived some Years under Dr. *Godfrey Goodman*, a Papist Bishop of a Protestant Church.

Abp. 291.

Orth. Be the Story true, 'tis only *Rara avis*, &c. But his Malice

lice and Cunning is, to wound the whole Hierarchy through the sides of *Goodman*. And if you are so afraid of Popery (as you pretend to be) I wonder in my heart how you dare venture into a Conventicle! that *F——n* is a Priest, 'tis more than presumed; and likewise 'tis thought that *G——ll* was of the same Batch; consult a little Book of Dr. *Nalson's*, call'd *Foxes and Firebrands*, and you'll see enough of their unchristian Cunning.

Phil. But dare you say, that Mr. *F——n*, a powerful Man, full of the Spirit, and a very laborious Preacher, and one that prays like an Angel, (to use Mr. *Calamy's* Phrase) is a Priest of the Church of *Rome*?

Orth. 'Tis even so, —— and you shall have the Story as I had it from one of undoubted Credit: but if you in the least doubt of it, I wou'd have you go to Mr. *Clavel* at the *Peacock* in *St. Paul's Church-yard*, and he may shew you the original Testimonials of the Veracity of it. I am as cautious as you can be of venting Rumours, lest I should fall under the Lash of old *Cato*. The sight of the Testimonial will fix you; and Mr. *Clavel*, I believe, will gratifie your Curiosity with the sight of it, as 'tis hop'd in good time he will publish it, to oblige the honest, and convince the weak of all Persuasions. The Story is this; viz. The Day before the fatal Battel and Rout of the Western Rebels, *F——n* held forth Death and Damnation to them upon this Text, *The Lord God of Gods, the Lord God of Gods, he knoweth, and Israel he shall know, if it be in Rebellion, or if in Transgression against the Lord (save us not this day.)* The Spirit of Delusion put this Scripture into the mouth of the false Prophet, and divine Vengeance took him at his word. Deal with us (says he) according to the Justice or Injustice of our Cause: if we be innocent, save us; if guilty, confound us. This was the Condition of his Appeal, which was answer'd, as by a Voice from Heaven, in the Sentence of the Day following; when, his Prayer was turn'd into a Curse, both upon himself and his whole Party, and the Cause adjudged to be a most impious Rebellion; adjudg'd, I say, by so remarkable a stroke of God's avenging Justice, that the Victory was no other than a Judicial Decision of the Controversie, and signaliz'd with

*Sir Roger
L'Estrang.
3 Vol. Obs.
66.*

*Josb. 22.
22.*

with so many visible traces of an extraordinary Providence, that the Blessing upon the whole matter was little less than a Miracle. Upon this Defeat one Mr. *Cromwel* came to *F—n*, and ask'd him, what he should do to be saved? Go along with me, says *F—n*, and I'll provide for you. Away they two strowled to *Newcastle*; at which place, in a little time, they got a Passage to *St. Sebastian*, a Town in the bottom of the Bay of *Biscay*; and there they safely arrived. Now, says *F—n*, I have been as good as my word; shift for your self. The poor Gentleman wandering in a solitary manner, in a strange Town, was by an English Factor (a Papist) observ'd, who thus accosted him; What's your business, Sir, in this Place? Then he related the above-written. Sir, (says the generous Factor, as most are in forein parts) make my House your Abode whilst you stay in Town. The Gentleman willingly, and with Thanks, embrac'd the Motion, and at Meal says the Merchant, What do you think of Mr. *F—n*? He's a dissenting Minister, says Mr. *Cromwel*: No, no, says the Factor; if your Conscience will give you leave to venture into one of our Places of Worship on *Sunday* next, I'll shew you Mr. *F—n* in his *Pontificalibus*. *Sunday* came, and they went to the Place appointed, and there he saw Mr. *F—n* reading Mass. The Fury of the Rebellion in the *West* being over, some time after Mr. *Cromwel* return'd to *England*, and his place of Abode was not far (I think) from *Sarisbury*; and some time after falling sick (which proved his Death) he sent for some of the Clergy to pray with him, &c. to whom he declared the aforesaid Account, and charg'd them to mind him as a dying man, and desired them to be Witnesses of the Narrative, as they were. The Account was sent up to Mr. *Clavel*. This Story was buzz'd about the Town, till at last it came to the Queen's Ears (King *William* being in *Flanders*) Mr. *Clavel* was sent for to the Council, and was ordered to produce the Account, which he promised. He rummag'd for it, and could not find it; but, as 'twas order'd by Divine Providence, he wrote to the aforesaid Clergy-men, most of whom were alive, and signed the Account once more: but the matter ne'er came to be canvas'd in Council, as I ever heard.

Phil. Oh strange! when I go to Town, I shall e'en make Mr. *Clavel* a Visit.

Orth. I Pray, Sir, do. ----- I would not for any thing that your Preachers should lie under such a Censure, as to be Factors for the Church of *Rome*.

Phil. Nay, let them look to that; I think they ought to clear themselves: but I'll assure you, if I find your Story to be founded on Truth, I shall be apt to fancy I see a Romish Priest or Jesuit when I see a Conventicle-Preacher in a Cloak.

Orth. All in good time, I hope.

Phil. This Gentleman was once in very great vogue with our Party; and 'tis reasonable to suppose, that had he died in that Expedition, he would have been mentioned very honourably in this ninth Chapter, and put in our Saints Kalendar. And, now I think on't, I cannot but wonder that Mr. *Calamy* should get the Names of so many ejected Ministers, and be able to give so particular Account of their Preferments they lost, the Places of their Education, their Qualifications for the Work they were call'd to, the several Books they publish'd, &c.

Orth. You are under a mistake, if you think he was acquainted with many of the Persons, or went himself to all the Places where they had resided for their Character, or could have sufficient Information from any printed Accounts; the Brethren throughout the Kingdom clubb'd for the Collection. The Materials were brought him, and he has pil'd them up in that regular and beautiful Order you behold them.

Phil. However, he has taken care, I presume, not to be imposed on in his Characters, but has taken them from such Persons as he could relie upon.

Orth. How many just Characters he has given, I know not; in one, I am sure he falsifies: and he that imposes on my Understanding in one, may in a thousand.

Phil. Pray, whom do you conceive he gives not a just Character to?

Orth. Indeed I cannot but think that he's mistaken in almost all his Characters; for he makes them all good Men, and qualified for Heaven, tho' there are scarce any among them, that by his own account were Lovers of Peace. But the Character

Abt. 281. I speak of, is that of *M. Mead*; he says, he was a Man of great Prudence, and an excellent useful Preacher.

Phil. To what part of his Character is he mistaken in?

Orth. In both; and I shall be able, I believe, to satisfy you, that he was neither a Man of great Prudence, nor an useful Preacher.

Phil. How will you evince that he was not a Man of Prudence? He left an Estate behind him, educated his Children gently, and left them Fortunes, had always a great many Hearers, and, whether he was a Parson or a Grazier, still liv'd in Credit, and got Money.

Orth. I will allow you he was wise in his Generation, as most Men of this World are: but he failed in point of Prudence, in his preaching other Mens Works, and then printing them as his own.

Phil. Sure you can't make that Charge good: If such a Star, as he that was the great Ornament of our Hemisphere, shines at a borrow'd Light, what can we call the little glimmering ones, but Children of Darkness? But let us hear how you make it out?

Orth. Amongst other his Work, *Mr. Calamy* reckons up his Sermon on *Ezekiel's* Wheels: and very well he might do so; for *Mr. Mead* puts his Name to't. Now I do aver, and offer to make it out, that he stole two thirds out of *Greenhill*, and almost *verbatim* too, and that what is properly his own in that Sermon, I know, no Reader, who is so contemptible a Creature with *B. and Calamy*, but wou'd be ashamed of it.

Phil. Well, but all this while where's his Imprudence?

Orth. First, In being a Plagiarist at all; 2dly, In stealing from a Book that is in the hands of all the Party; for you must know, that vitiated Palats delight more in Trash than wholesome Food: 3dly and especially, In stealing what will never enrich himself nor others half so much as hundred others have done.

Phil. But I hope, tho' a Man be a Plagiarist, yet he may be an excellent Preacher: What say you to that?

Orth. How he can justly be term'd an excellent Preacher, that delivers other Mens Works, without Improvement, I know

know not: And wherein the Usefulness of Preaching lay, I profess to be ignorant, unless in amusing his Auditors with matter forein and impertinent, in rendring them disaffected to their Governours both in Church and State, in tenderly touching the Sins of Couzenage and Over-reaching, Lying and Slandering; and lastly, in preaching so much upon Predestination and Reprobation, as to make the most humble and modest of his Hearers full of dismal Fears and Apprehensions, and driving many into down right Despair.

Phil. He was always look'd upon, if not as a prudent, yet certainly a very cunning Man: And therefore before I can believe him such a Plagiary as you represent him, I must be convinc'd by Demonstration.

Orth. If nothing else will satisfie you, look you in Mr. Greenhill, whilst I read out of Mr. Mead.

Mead, pages 1, 2.

Greenhil, 1 Vol. p. 15, 16.

NOne of all the Prophets have set out the Providence of God, in his Wisdom and Power, Sovereignty and Superintendency, more than this Prophet Ezekiel, nor by more elegant Emblems: tho' it must be said of this Prophecy (as was said of Paul's Epistles) that there are *δυσωρτα νρα*, some things in them hard to be understood, full of obscurity and difficulty; which made Jerome say, there is in this Book a sea of Scripture, it is so deep, and a Labyrinth of the Mysteries of God, it is so difficult: and therefore as the reading of the beginning of Genesis and the Book of Canticles was forbidden to the Jews (as the same Author says) ante ætatem sacerdotalem, till they were 30 years of age, so was the beginning and ending of this Prophecy.

There are in it dark Visions, hard to be unfolded, uncertain Chronologies, difficult to be found out, mystical Parables hard to be opened, and many enigmatical Hieroglyphicks not easily to be understood.

Mead, p. 50.

The good Angels of God, O how active are they in all their Ministrations—full of Zeal for God—Every Christian should be acted with Zeal for God; especially Magistrates and Men in Authority—It was Saul's Sin that be

NArrianzen saith, That Ezekiel is the chiefest of all the rest for matter of Admiration and Acuteness; he is the greatest of all the Prophets, and the deepest; which made Jerome say, There was in this Prophecy of Ezekiel a Sea of Scripture, he is so deep, a Labyrinth of Mysteries of God, he is so dark, so difficult, if he do but equalize other Prophets in Dignity and Woe, yet he exceeds them in Difficulty and Darkness: It must be said of this Prophet as of Paul's Epistles, there are some things in them hard to be understood: He hath uncertain Chronologies and Chronographies, mystical Parables, forein Histories, &c. Hence it was counted Rashness for any one to read this Prophet till he was 30 Years of Age: And Jerome says, that it was prohibited among the Jews, that any should read the Beginning of Genesis, the Book of Canticles, the Beginning or Ending of this Prophet, &c.

Greenhil, 1 Vol. p. 126.

The Angels are zealous, forward, and effectual in, &c.

This should quicken Magistrates, and those who be armed with Authority—It was Saul's Sin, that he spared Agag; but

he spared Agag, and Samuel's Glory that he hewed him in pieces, in Zeal for God. It is mention'd as Aſa's Honour, that he removed his Mother from being Queen, because she was an Idolater; and not only Abdicated her from the Government, but brake her Idol in pieces, and burnt it. 2 Chron. 15, 16.

but Samuel's Glory, that he hewed him in pieces. —

So Aſa in removing his Mother Ma-
ashah from being Queen, because she had made an Idol in a Grove, which he cut down, 2 Chron. 15, 16. and brake it in pieces, and burnt it.

This is sufficient for a Taste.

Phil. I have enough: you have sufficiently made good your Charge. Pray call a new Cause.

Orth. Well then, I'll tell you a Story of a Congregational Minister (as I had it from a Person of undoubted Credit: I can't say he was a Man of Prudence (as Mr. Calamy styles Mr. M. Mead of Stepney) but none more dexterous at Cunning or Craft, and one wou'd have sworn that his *Godlineſſ* was *Gain*. A young Gentleman of our Communion made his Addreſſes to a fair Lady of a round Fortune, but of a different Perſuaſion. He made many Attempts, but none ſucceeded: At laſt he was deſired to feel the Pulse of her Miniſter, to whom he made Application. Oh Sir! (ſays the *Non-Con*) I know you are a Church-man, I ſhall never give my Conſent to the Match. The Gentleman preſſ'd him with many Arguments, and at laſt made one Overture, which brought him over: If you'll conſent (ſays he.) I'll be oblig'd by Bond never to perſuade her to join with our Communion; and beſides, I'll tie my ſelf to preſent you roundly. Well Sir (ſays the other) upon thoſe Conditions I'll attack both Mother and Daughter. Bond was given; and he made his Addreſſes in the behalf of the Gentleman: Affairs in a little time look'd with a better face, and the Match was clap'd up. Some time after the Preacher was invited to a Diſh of Meat to the Gentleman's Houſe, and all things were prepared: the Mother, a rigid Independent, was planted in a Room adjoining; and the Bag of Money (to the tune of 300 l.) was thrown on the Table; the noiſe of which brings forth the Mother (who before could not be perſuaded to give credit to the Story) and with Amazement (to uſe Mr. Calamy's word) cries out, Lord, Son, what are you a-doing? only, replied he, a-paying to your Confeſſor 300 l. that I was to give him for your Daughter: upon which ſhe ſeizes the Bond,
and

and commits it to the Flames: by which happy Contrivance the *Non-Con* was chous'd, and both Mother and Daughter were reconcil'd to our Church.

Phil. The Story is so monstrous, I know not how to give credit to it; and were I convinc'd of the Veracity of it, I should put that Parson in my black Book.

Orth. Make some enquiry after it, and 'tis ten thousand to one, but that you may meet with some living Testimony to confirm the Truth of the Story.

Phil. I'll do my utmost to go to the bottom of it.

Orth. I pray do —

Phil. I had once so great an Opinion of our Ministers and their Performances, that I had thoughts of collecting the Works of all Mr. *Calamy's* Worthies, and printed them together; but you have quite beat me off that purpose. Since *M. Mead* was counted a Pillar amongst us, and a Master Builder, and in print to worse than little purpose; what shall we speak of others that he mentions, but as of *Hod men* and *Broomsticks*? Let them e'en take an *Endymion* Nap in *Duck lane*.

Orth. 'Tis wisely resolv'd; for I wou'd ask, not *Calamy*, but any Man of Judgment, If the Works of all his Saints were put in the Universal Language, and were in all Hands, as the Sense, Religion, and Policy of the Nation; what they wou'd think of *England*? sure as the Land, not of *Goshen*, but of *Gotham*; and that *Bedlam* was the Recepracle: for, tho' I will not condemn all that your Ministers have wrote, for they have some good and useful things in their kind; but in the meanwhile their Writings are a mere Chat, an heap of Rubbish, and without any Spirit, save a Spirit of Strife and Division to animate them: nay, I will say farther, that even those which I allow to be good and useful, if laid in the balance against our *Hooker*, *Hamond*, *Jackson*, *Pearson*, &c. will be found very empty and light.

Phil. What is the reason they should not write so well?

Orth. *Veniunt ad candida testia columbæ.*

Phil. But tho' you will not allow them to be good Preachers, yet you must own that they have an excellent Gift of Prayer, and in that respect much out-do your Preachers, and to be
more

more influenc'd by the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Prayer and Supplication. They are (says Mr. Calamy) Men mighty in Prayer, and Men of more than common Gifts of Prayer, Men that are acquainted with the Inside of Religion, laying themselves out exceedingly for the Good of Souls, Ministers of Christ, mighty in the Scriptures; whereas your Ministers are generally raw, unfurnish'd Novices; but ours pray like Angels: and one of your own Conforming Ministers once hearing Mr. Kirby, said to a Friend, that he prayed Apostolically. Now Sir, are not these Men to be admired, and followed for their great Qualifications, and their mighty Gifts of Prayer?

Orth. It is, no doubt, a very commendable thing, to be able, on all occasions, to make known our Requests to God, in proper Expressions, and such as will beget warm Affections and Reverence in the Congregation: but yet such an Ability is not always a sure sign of a holy Man, or one actuated by the Holy Spirit. A heated Brain, a fluent Tongue, and a bold Forehead, are often found sufficient to set up a Preacher and Prayer both, especially with the Assistance of Bp. Wilkins. I question not, among your selves you have known some that have been forc'd to interrupt their Prayers with Hums and Haws for want of Words; to use Repetitions, that they might, with the *Pharisees*, draw them to a length. Have you not likewise observed many times, that even those that are the most eminent for fluency in their Prayers, do things inconsistent with the Influences of God's Spirit, such as treating the Almighty more familiarly than they durst their Fellow-Creatures, their Prayers for Vengeance and Destruction, instead of Blessings to Kings and Princes, and their thanking God for espousing their Cause, and giving Success to it, tho' diametrically opposite to his Revealed Will. Read Dr. Nalson's *Countermines*, and you'll abate of your Fondness for their Gifts. Did you never hear of Major *Weir* in Scotland? He was a mighty Man in Prayer, much followed by the unthinking Crowd; but at last was found to deal with the Devil, and was burnt for a Wizard. I beg of you to read a Pamphlet call'd *Ravilliac Redivivus*.

Rav. Red.
39, 40, 41,
42.

Countermines.

93, 94, 95.

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I might bring (says Dr. Nalson) many Instances; but I will add only one (and that is a Female one) which is so remarkable, that

that it will be sufficient to convince all those who are not resolv'd against Conviction, and whereby it will appear, that this way of extempore Prayer is so far from being a Gift of God, or proceeding from the Spirit of God, that it may be the Gift of the Devil, and that such who are almost under an irrevocable necessity of Damnation, may have it in perfection. The Story is thus: At St. Ives, in the County of Huntington, within the Memory of many persons yet alive, there was a Woman, whose Name I do not well remember, tho' many in that place very well do; she was one of those, who for distinction, were then by themselves called Professors, by others Puritans; she was a Follower of the Upholders of the Presbyterian Tenents, a constant Frequenter of the Meetings and Religious Exercises: This Woman came to be so eminent, especially in the Gift of Prayer, that she was generally admired, and look'd upon as a Saint of the first magnitude. The noise of her Fame, and the boast of her Party, brought many of the neighbouring Ministers in the adjacent Counties of Cambridge and Huntington, to hear her pray; which she did in that ravishing manner, that they never parted from her without an excess of Admiration and Astonishment. After some time, for what reason I am not able to determine, this holy Sister went over to New England, as about the same time many others did for Liberty of Conscience: for a while she was in the greatest Esteem and height of Reputation; but the Devil owed her a shame, and she him a Soul: She was at last suspected, and accused to be a Witch, was brought to a Trial, confess'd her Guilt, and that her Contract with the Devil was, That in lieu of her Soul, which she did consign to him, he should assist her with the Gift of extempore Prayer. After which Confession, Sentence was pass'd upon her, and she was accordingly executed, as a most abominable Witch. I would not have you think, that I am so uncharitable as to suppose, that all your praying Ministers deal with the Evil Spirit: God forbid. But I only instance in one of each Sex, shewing 'tis possible for you to be deluded; whereas the same can't be said of those that use a well-digested Form of Prayer (such as our most excellent Liturgy is) yet with great propriety they are said to pray by the Spirit. Did not the Apostles pray by the Spirit when they used a Form, viz. the Lord's Prayer? But I am loth to enter that spacious Field of

Her Name
was
Hutchin-
son, as I
learn from
others.

Discourse, it growing hot : but if ever you and I should meet again, we wou'd go to the Merits of the Cause.

Phil. Agreed ——— Well, but let us divert to some other Topick : What think you of another Edition of Mr. *Calamy's* Abridgment ?

Orth. Think, say you ? I think not well of it, but otherwise, that the Government is extreamly wanting to it self, not to take notice of it and its Editor : I am sure if the *Star-Chamber* had been in being, the *Laudensian* Faction (by which envious Title Mr. *Calamy* often stiles the most upright and regular Clergy) wou'd have call'd him to account long before now, and wou'd not have suffer'd another Edition to poyson the Nation ; the Book wou'd have had its deserv'd Fate, and the Editor his condign Punishment. You see the fatal Consequence of the Liberty of the Press. What think you of an Act of Parliament (for nothing less can do it) to restrain the Licentiousness of Printing.

Phil. 'Tis high time to do't : but such an Act will be clamour'd against, and our Friends will cry out upon't, that 'tis contrary to the Toleration.

Orth. I question not but they will clamour against it : But, must not the Government provide for the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, for fear of disobliging unpeaceable and restless People ? They themselves, when uppermost, have taught us what is fit to be done in such a case.

Phil. Pray, what did they do ?

Orth. They took care to suppress all Books as tended to shake their usurp'd Government, and to give an *Imprimatur* only to those which were of their side, and not against them.

Phil. I know not how to answer you ; for, according to the old Proverb, *What is sawce for the Goose, is sawce for the Gander* : but should they be denied Liberty to Print and Publish, they'd cry out, Persecution, and what not ; and say, that Innocence is oppress'd, and not permitted to answer for its self.

Orth. Give me leave to ask you one Question. Do you suppose that Mr. *Calamy* and the rest of his Brethren have the same Principles, and espouse the same Interest, that Mr. *Calamy's* Worthies did ?

Phil.

Popish. There's not the least doubt to be made but they are wholly of a piece with them; why, otherwise, do they take such care, by embalming their Memories, to shew their profound Respect to them, and recommend their Examples to Posterity?

Orth. Then, if what has been already said is not sufficient to spoil your pretence to Innocency, consider two or three Passages which I shall read to you out of Dr. Heylin. Upon the news of the good Success which their Scottish Brethren had at Sterling, a scandalous Libel, in the nature of Dialogue, is publish'd and dispers'd in most parts of England, in which the state of the Church is pretended to be laid open in a Conference between Diotrophes (representing the Person of a Bishop;) Tertullus (a Papist, brought in to plead for the Orders of our Church;) Demetrius, an Usurer (signifying such as live by unlawful Trades;) Pandocheus an Inn-keeper (a Receiver of all, and a Soother of every Man for his Gain;) and Paul (a Preacher of the Word of God) sustaining the Place and Person of the Consistorians. In the contrivance of which Piece, Paul falls directly on the Bishop, whom he used most proudly, spitefully, and slanderously. He condemns both the calling of Bishops, as Antichristian, and censures their Proceedings, as wicked, Popish, unlawful, and cruel. The Bishop is supposed to have been sent out of England into Scotland for the suppressing the Presbyterians there; and is made upon his Return homewards, to be the Reporter of the Scottish Affairs, and withal, to signify his great fear lest he and the rest of the Bishops in England should be served shortly as the Bishops had lately been in Scotland, viz. at Edinburgh, St. Andrews, &c. Tertullus the Papist is made the Bishop's only Counsellor in the whole course of the Government of the Church; by whose Advice the Bishops were made to bear with the Popish Recusants, and that so many ways are sought to suppress the Puritans; and he, together with Pandocheus the Host, and Demetrius the Usurer, relate unto the Bishop such Occurrences as had happened in England during his stay among the Scots: at which when the Bishop seemed to wonder, and much more marvelled that the Bishops had not yet suppressed the Puritans some way or other; Pandocheus is made to tell him, that one of their Preachers had affirm'd in the Pulpit, that there were one hundred

thousand of them in England, and that their number in all places did increase continually.

Hist. 269. In the Year 1586, they told the Parliament, That if the Reformation they desired were not granted, they should betray God, his Truth, and the whole Kingdom; that they should declare themselves to be an Assembly wherein the Lord's Cause could not be heard, wherein the Felicity of miserable People could not be respected; wherein Truth, Religion, and Piety could bear no sway; an Assembly, that willingly call'd for the Judgments of God upon the whole Realm; and finally, that not a Man of their Seed should prosper, be a Parliament-man, or bear Rule in England any more.

Phil. Have you done?

279. Orth. I beg your pardon for one moment, whilst I shew you how they endeavoured to make the Bishops seem as odious and contemptible in the eyes of their Profelytes, as Wit and Malice could devise. Dr. John Bridges, Dean of Sarum, and afterwards Bishop of Oxford, publish'd a Book in the Year 1587, entituled, A Defence of the Government of the Church of England; to which an Answer by some zealous Brethren is return'd. Bridges replies, &c. Now to prosecute their (main) design, which was, to make the Bishops odious, and contemptible in the eyes of their Profelites, four of the most seditious of all the pack (that is to say, Penry, Throgmorton, Udal, and Fenner) lay their Heads together: from which Conjunction there proceeded such a swarm of pestiferous Libels, that the like Mischiefe (neither in Nature, nor in Number) did ever exercise the Patience of a Christian state. In which 'tis hard to say, whether their Malice or Uncharitableness had the most Pre-
 280. dominacy. In all which doings, Cartwright was either of the Council in the first Design, or without doubt a great Approver of them upon the Post fact; and thereupon he is affirm'd to have used these words, That since the Bishops Lives wou'd not amend by grave Books and Advertisements, it was fit they should be so dealt with to their further shame. I am ashamed (says that reverend Author) to rake into these filthy puddles, tho' it be necessary that the bottom of the Sink be opened, that notice may be taken of that stench and putrefaction which proceeded from them. In which respect, I hope the Reader will excuse me if I let him know, that they could find no other Title for the Archbishop of Canterbury, than Beelze-
 280. bub

bub of Canterbury, Pope of Lambeth, the Canterbury Caiaphas, Esau, a monstrous Antichristian Pope, a most bloody Opposer of God's Saints, a very Antichristian Beast, a most vile and cursed Tyrant. They tell us further of this humble and meek spirited man, That no Bishop had such an aspiring and ambitious mind as he, no, not Cardinal Wolsey; none so proud as he, no, not Stephen Gardiner of Winchester; none so tyrannick as he; no, not Bonner the Butcher of London. — The Bishops are unlawful, unnatural, false and bastardly Governours of the Church, the Ordinances of the Devil, petty Popes, petty Antichrists, incarnate Devils, Bishops of the Devil, coggng, cozening Knaves, and will lie like dogs: that they are proud, Popish, presumptuous, profane, paltry, pestilent, pernicious Prelates and Usurpers, Enemies of God, and the most pestilent Enemies to the State; and that the worst Puritan in Eng.^{281.} land is an honestest Man than the best Lord Bishop of Christendom. Then follows a Lash for the Inferior Clergy, That they are Popish Priests, or Monks, or Friars, or Ale-house Hunters, or Boys, or Lads, or Drunkards, or Dolts; that they will wear a Fools Hood for a Livings sake; that they are Hogs, Dogs, Wolves, Foxes, Simoniacks, Usurpers, Proctors of Antichrist's Inventions, Popish Chapmen, halting Neutrals, greedy Dogs to fill their Paunches, a multitude of desperate and forlorn Atheists, a cursed uncircumcised murdering Generation, a Crew of bloody Soul-murderers, and sacrilegious Church Robbers, and Followers of Antichrist.

Then there's a stroke at the Bishops and Clergy in Convocation: They are stil'd, Right puissant, poison'd, persecuting, and terrible Priests, Clergy-masters of the Confocation-house, the holy League of Subscription, the Crew of monstrous and ungodly Wretches that mingle Heaven and Earth together; horned Beasts of the Conspiration-house; an Antichristian swinish Rabble, Enemies of the Gospel, the Convocation house of Devils, and Beelzebub (meaning Abp. Bancroft) of Canterbury, the chief of those Devils.

Now, Phil. What think you of their Pretence to Innocency? This Billingsgate Language was used by Mr. Calamy's Saints to our Clergy in Queen Elizabeth's Reign. I could easily trace their civil Treatment and Language in the succeeding Reigns; but I believe I have given you enough to stay your Stomach. These are the superfine Christians, the innocent harmless Doves,

the meek and tender-spirited Saints; but I wou'd advise you to peruse Dr. *Heylin's* excellent History of the Presbyterians, the *Persecutio undecima*, and Sir *Roger L'Estrange's* Works, and you'll have no reason to boast of your darling Plea, Innocence. If you do not find as much Cruelty and Oppression, and as sad Havock made by your Party in the Christian World, as ever was done by any Party of Men since the Incarnation of our blessed Lord, I am much mistaken. I beg of you to give those Books a diligent and unprejudic'd Reading, and you'll be of another mind. All is not Gold that glisters; and all their Pretences to Religion do not end in sincere Godliness. Wou'd a Man of parts, as you are, lay by all Prejudices, and consult the ancient Writers from the Apostles days down to our times, a Map must struggle hard to set up for a Presbyterian. The whole Current of Antiquity runs against you, and St. *Ignatius's* Epistles are more than enough to convince any one; and he must be a Man *perfrictæ frontis*, that pretends to stem such a tide.

Phil. The Morning is now far advanc'd, and my Obligations will not permit me to hear what farther Reflections you have to make on this virulent Book (for so I must needs call it:) The next opportunity we will dip again into it (for I like not to go to the bottom of such a Sink and filthy Puddle,) and in the mean time own, that my Affection is much abated to Dissention, and many of my Prejudices worn off towards the Church: I have now only time to hear what you have to reply to his calling the Long Parliament, which began in 1640, the most celebrated Parliament that ever sat in *England*.

Abridg. 19.

Orth. I know not which most to admire, the extravagancy of his Impudence or Folly, in giving such a Character. What greater Impudence can there be, than in commending a Body of Men who turned all things Topsy-turvy, and ruin'd three Kingdoms? Such a pack of Miscreants as these, who made us the Scorn and By-word of the World; none but a *B. or C.* or a Member of the *Calves-head Club*, wou'd dignifie it with the Title of a most celebrated Parliament.

Phil. The Impudence is visible, where lies the Foolishness?

Orth. In acquainting the Government what they wou'd be at;

at; in telling it, that at whatsoever height of Folly or Mad-
ness they are arrived, yet they are no Changlings; in giving
plain *Innuendo's*, that so far as they can influence, they will be
represented in Parliament by such Persons as *Pym, Prynne, May-
nard, Mildmay, &c.* that a Parliament will be their Represen-
tatives indeed, when they shall dethrone Princes, throw out
Episcopacy, and eject the Regular Clergy, and fix *them* in
their places.

Phil. If this be a celebrated Parliament, it is in the sense that
Erostratus is celebrated, *viz.* for putting the Nation all in a
flame, as he set *Diana's Temple* on fire.

Orth. That pestilent part of that Parliament (God forgive
them) was too like *Solomon's Horseleech*, that was always cry- *Prov. 30. 25*
ing, Give, Give, and was not to be satisfied till they had em-
brued their hands in the hearts blood of the Royal Giver. This
was the winding up of the bottom; this was the dismal issue
of Mr. *Baxter's* celebrated Parliament. And if you won't abide
by my Judgment, I pray you to hear the Opinion of that
truly great Statesman, my Lord *Clarendon*, in his celebrated
and immortal History of the Rebellion of 1640. My Lord
Clarendon gives you the Opinion of the Earl of *Bedford* (tho' a *Clar. Hist.*
moderate Man) a little before his Death, of the Parliament *1 vol. 200.*
1640; That he feared the Rage and Madness of the Parliament
would bring more Prejudice and Mischief to the Kingdom, than
it had ever sustain'd by the long Intermision of Parliaments.
My Lord calls it, the Seditious and Rebellious Age — This
Parliament, the Foundation or the Fountain of all publick Cala- *309. 2 DE.*
mities — And speaking of printing the Vote about the Pro- *213.*
testation, calls it the highest and most insolent Affront to the
Lords, King, and Justice of the Kingdom. — With their ac-
custom'd Confidence and Distemper — Their crooked and in- *220, 234.*
direct Courses, and their visible unwarrantable Breaches upon
the Church and the Religion establish'd by Law — Speaking
of that House of Commons, he calls it the warm Region, where
Thunder and Lightning were made. — He styles it, the raging
and fanatick Distemper of the House of Commons — The *254. 338.*
Tyranny and Injustice of that Time — He gives it this Cha- *421.*
racter, That it was the most prodigious, and the boldest Rebel-
lion.

tion, that any Age or Country ever brought forth — I could pick up many other Expressions to the same purpose, in that excellent History of that Rebellion, of Mr. *Baxter's* celebrated Parliament; but at this time shall not. I think I have produc'd enough to stay your Stomach, and to shew you the Opinion of that honest and great Man (that durst be so in the worst of times) and more than enough to set you right in the notion of that Parliament, which Mr. *Baxter* calls Celebrated: and if you'll lay by your Prejudices, and think freely, I am sure the Opinion of my Lord *Clarendon* in this point will be of more weight than ten thousand *Baxters* and *Calamities*: That Lord was for a time a Member of that black Parliament; was a Man of Sagacity and profound Judgment; kept his Integrity undefil'd in those dismal times; in a word, and to be short, (for 'twou'd make a Volume to give his just Character) was a stout Defender of his King, of the Church Establish't, and of the Liberties and Properties of the Subject.

Phil. I have heard it tax'd for a partial History, and by some of your own Party, and they High-flyers too.

Orth. That rather should recommend it to you. I perceive then, you have not read it.

Phil. No, Sir, not I.

Orth. My Friend *Phil.* you can spend your time in reading dull, and insipid, and lying Accounts of that black House of Commons, and cannot afford leisure to peruse the faithful Historians of that time, when (to use some Expressions of the Prophet *Jeremy*) *Our Inheritance was turn'd to Aliens, when we were Orphans and fatherless, and when our Mothers were as Widows, when our Necks were under Persecution — when Servants rul'd over us — when we got our Bread with the peril of our Lives, because of the Sword — when they ravish'd the Women in Zion, and the Maids in the City of Judah; when Princes were hanged up by the hands, and when the faces of the Elders were not honoured, when the joy of our heart ceased, and when our Dance was turn'd into Mourning; when the Crown fell from our Head, and when sacred Head fell from the Body. —* Let me beg of you to give it a reading; I am persuaded that it has all the Qualifications of a just History. And when you have gone through it, I am apt

to believe, that you'll be of my Opinion : Let not Prejudice and Lying hinder you from receiving a true Account of that horrid Rebellion ; and if you boggle at the Price of the Book, you shall willingly have the loan of mine.

Phil. I thank you kindly for your great Civilities ; and when you send it me, I'll promise to lay by my Prejudices, and diligently attend to what the Lord *Clarendon* says. But I must ---

Orth. Stay but one minute, whilst I ask you one Question ; What's the Reason that your Party never bestow'd an Epitaph upon Mr. *Baxter*.

Phil. I see no occasion ——— for Mr. *Calamy* says, His Books are his Monument. But why so inquisitive ? Have you a mind to supply that Omission (if it be one.)

Orth. A Friend of mine was pleased to give me a Present, and a choice one too, I think. Will you hear it ?

Phil. I can deny you nothing : Out with it then.

Orth. Here it is ——— reads.

Hic jacet Richardus Baxter,
Theologus Armatus,
Loiolita Reformatus,
Hæresiarcha Ærianus,
Schismaticorm Antisignanus ;
Cujus pruritus disputandi peperit,
Scriptitandi Cacoethes nutrit,
Prædicandi Zelus intemperatus maturavit
Ecclesiæ Scabiem,
Qui dissentit ab iis quibuscum consentit maximè ;
Tum sibi cum aliis Nonconformis
præteritis, præsentibus & futuris :
Regum & Episcoporum juratus Hostis,
Ipsumque Rebellium solemne Fædus.
Qui natus erat per septuaginta annos,
Et octoginta Libros.
Ad perturbandas regni Respublicas,
Et ad bis perdendam Ecclesiam Anglicanam
Magnis tamen excidit ausis.
Deo Gratias.

Phil.

Phil. I'll shew it: Mr. Calamy, and have his Thoughts of it: perhaps I may influence him to insert it into the next Edition of his *Abridgment*; in the mean while pardon me, Sir, in leaving you abruptly: I am under an Obligation to be at the Place and Time appointed; and when I meet you next, I'll be at your Disposal: in the mean time, a thousand Thanks for your Pains and Labour to inform my Judgment. I shall always account it a lasting Kindness, and a favour ne'er to be forgotten.

Orth. Farewel, dear Friend, and take in good part what has been said, and believe that 'tis from an hearty Kindness to you: And if in your Reflections upon our Discourse you shall find that I have misrepresented the Words of Mr. Calamy's Worthies, or drawn Inferences which follow not from the Doctrines, upon fair Conviction, I promise to acknowledge my Error, and to beg your Pardon, and the Party's too. And if you have a mind to recriminate, and can object to me Doctrines from the prime and leading Men of our Church, at any time since the Reformation, that have a tenth part of the Unchristianity and Destructiveness to Civil Societies as those of your prime and leading Men, I farther engage, that I will never (except occasionally) go to Church again.

Phil. I'll consider of it with my Friends: in the mean while God preserve us both in, or direct us to the true Faith, and enable us to lead suitable Lives.

Orth. Amen.

F I N I S.

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